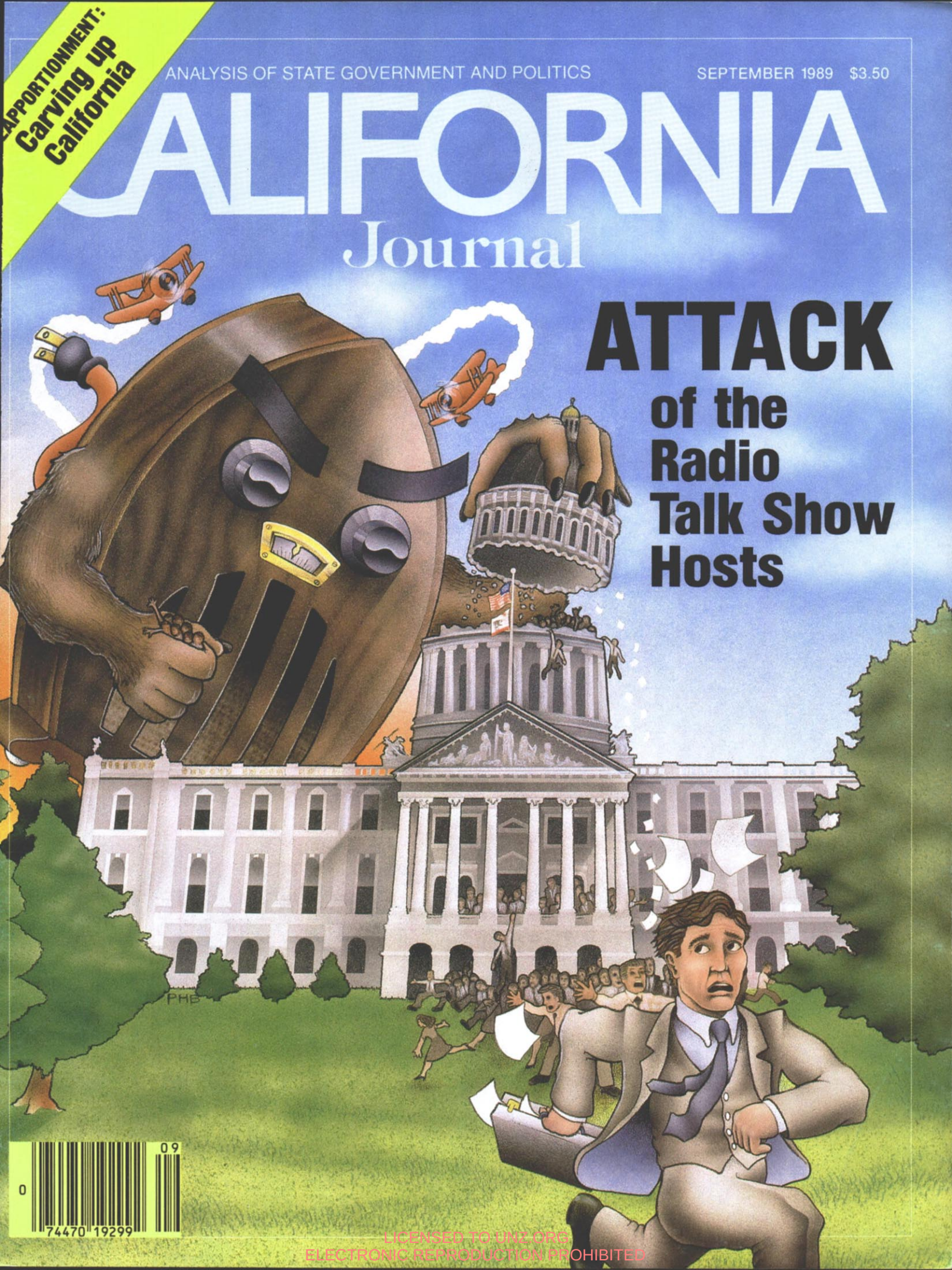
ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

SEPTEMBER 1989 $3.50

APPORTIONMENT: Carving up California

CALIFORNIA Journal

ATTACK of the Radio Talk Show Hosts



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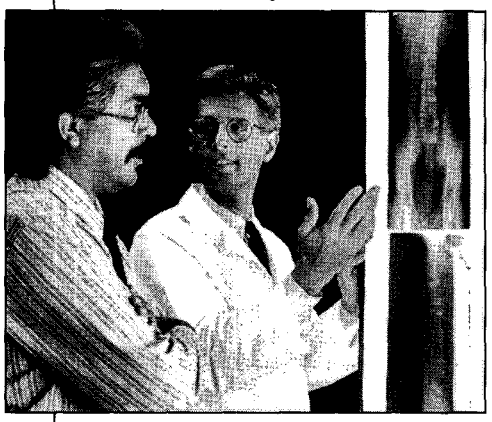
WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT CHIROPRACTIC DOCTORS COULD COST YOU MONEY.

Chiropractic care is cost-effective. Here are the reasons why:

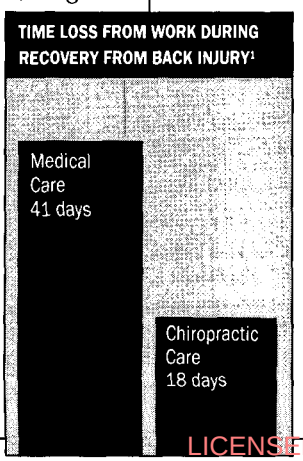
1. Rapid results = less cost, less "sick time"—Studies show that, when chiropractic care is chosen, the typical low-back recovery time is cut by half.[1,2,3] This minimizes pain and inconvenience and puts people back on the job and back on their feet enjoying life.

2. Fewer costly procedures/less hospitalization—A prominent health



plan estimated they *saved $225,000 in 6 months on 12 patients that avoided back surgery through chiropractic care.*[4] A recent workers' compensation study showed that the medical patient is twice as likely to be put in the hospital as the chiropractic patient with the same back pain condition.[5] A medical study showed that cases resulting in hospitalization cost roughly eight times as much as cases that are treated on an outpatient basis.[6]

3. Prompt diagnosis/treatment = less time off work—Examination, diagnosis (utilizing in-house x-ray) and treatment can usually be accomplished within one day, during the first chiropractic visit. Compare this with the standard medical routine where the examining physician refers the patient for outside x-rays then schedules the patient again to review the results.



Lost work time, increased fees, inconvenience and delayed treatment are the results.

4. Prevention and rehabilitation = less disability and fewer recurring problems—The chiropractic doctor's active bio-mechanical approach emphasizing continued movement, exercise and early rehabilitation, treats the real cause rather than the pain. This reduces recurring problems. It also prevents onset of the disability behavior that complicates spinal problems. The DC approaches the patient as a person, not as a "bad disc" or a "headache". To prevent problems recurring, the chiropractic doctor may prescribe worksite postural or lifting corrections, exercise programs, proper nutrition and stress reduction guidance where appropriate.

5. Success in returning chronic pain patients to work—In a medical study of "totally disabled chronic back pain patients" unresponsive to standard medical care, 87% were returned to "full function with no restriction for work or other activities" after receiving 2-3 weeks of chiropractic treatment.[7] These patients had experienced constant and severe disabling back pain for an average of 7.6 years in spite of a wide variety of medical treatments, including surgery for some. After 12 months' follow-up the same success rate was shown.

CONCLUSION: Implement the cost-effective alternative. *The health plan mentioned above established a corporate policy requiring all patients to receive chiropractic evaluation before referral to the hospital for back and neck pain.*

Today in California, the doctor of chiropractic is a primary health care provider who has completed six years of health sciences study and clinical internship. State licensure includes a rigorous examination and yearly continuing education requirements.

Consult a CCA doctor of chiropractic. These doctors pledge to uphold the CCA Code of Ethics and are ready to work with consumers and business to offer the highest quality care, cost-effectively.

1. Bergemann, PhD; Cichoke, DC (1980) "Cost Effectiveness of Medical vs. Chiropractic Treatment of Low-Back Injuries," *Journ. of Manipulative and Physiological Therapeutics* 3(3):143-147
2. Wolf, MD (1974), "Industrial Back Injury," *Int'l. Review of Chiropractic* 26:6-7
3. Duffy, PhD (1978), "Study of Wisconsin Industrial Back Injury Cases," Univ. of Wisconsin unpublished
4. Silverman, DC (1987), "Study of the First 100 Patients Referred to the Silverman Chiropractic Center by AV-MED," unpublished
5. Wolk, PhD (1988) *Analysis of Florida Work Comp Medical Claims for Back Injuries,* Foundation for Chiropractic Education and Research
6. Glenn, PhD, Lawler, MD; Hoerl, MD (1987), "Physician Referrals in a Competitive Environment," *Journ. of the American Medical Association,* 258 (14):1920-1923
7. Kirkaldy-Willis, MD; Cassidy, DC (1985), "Spinal Manipulation in the Treatment of Low-Back Pain," *Canadian Family Physician,* 31:535-540.

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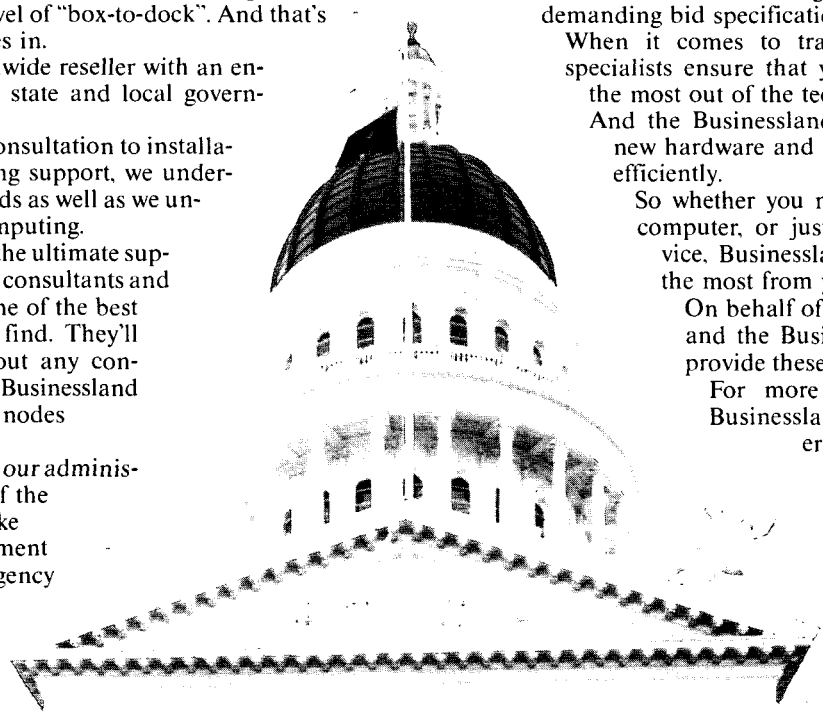

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CALIFORNIA Journal

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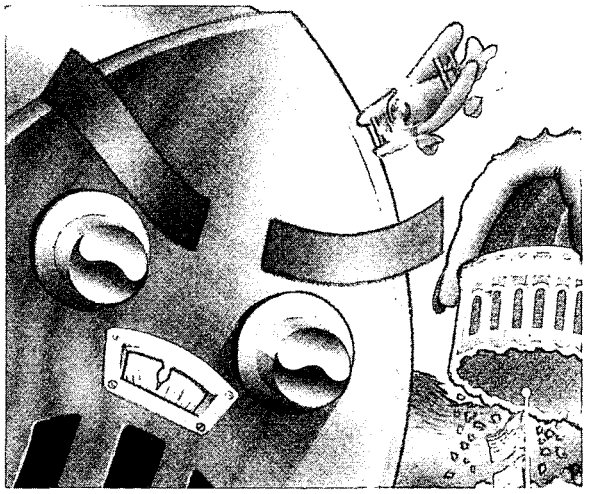

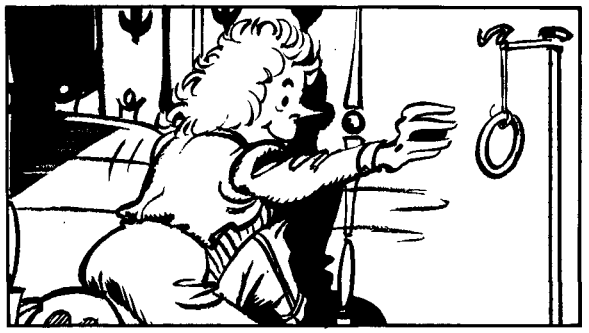

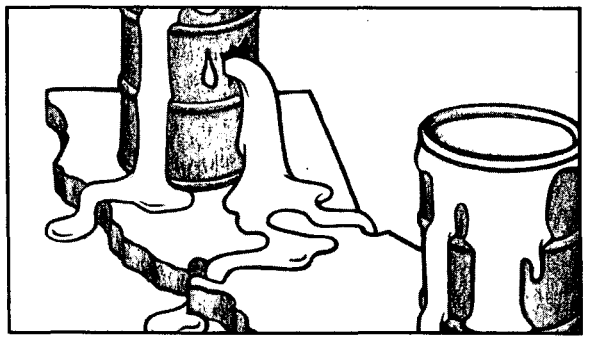

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UP FRONT

Financial advice department: Invest in swamp coolers because if Assemblyman John Vasconcellos has his way, Californians will have to get along without most air-conditioning systems. The San Jose Democrat has introduced a bill (AB 2532) to pull the plug on the most widely used air-conditioning — that based on chloroflurocarbons, or CFCs. According to Vasconcellos, CFCs contribute heavily to destruction of the ozone layer and a substantial portion (25 percent) of these CFCs are released into the air from air-conditioning systems. Other lawmakers have introduced similar bills but tied the CFC ban to the development of alternatives.

Not so, Vasconcellos. His bill bans ozone-eaters in new cars by 1991 and in new commercial buildings by 1992. It also requires that existing systems be changed to keep CFCs out of the atmosphere through recycling. He partially justifies the urgency in his bill by the continued deterioration of the ozone layer — and by the fact that Vermont has a similar ban starting in 1993. Of course, Vermont doesn't have a Palm Springs or a Needles or a Barstow or a heavily populated Central Valley where summer temperatures soar past 100 for days at a time.

Vasconcellos, however, doesn't care about the heat. His message seems to be "be hot or be dead."

Moonwalker Brown. One might think that being a flamboyant and powerful politician would be enough for anyone, including Willie Brown. Nope. The Assembly speaker wants to be Michael Jackson as well. When Democratic Assemblywoman Jackie Speier's son, Jackson, turned one-year old recently, Brown celebrated by hosting a party in his Capitol conference room. And Brown showed up as Michael Jackson, complete with mask, wig and dancing shoes. In a slow-motion imitation of the singer's patented dance style, Brown moonwalked around the party. Although one fellow legislator suggested his moves were "arthritic," Brown was enjoying himself so much he moonwalked into the hallway outside the Assembly chambers. The only flaw in his act: Brown wore two white gloves instead of one.

Minor leaguer of the month. Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak threw herself a 41st birthday bash-fund raiser August 4th in Pleasant Hill. The motif was baseball, with Sunne McPeak baseball cards as invitations. The back of the card indicates that McPeak sports a .750 elective batting average, the only "out" being an attempt to unseat incumbent state Senator Dan Boatwright in the 1988 Democratic primary. The card also claims McPeak was "thrown out at the plate" in that election. Actually, she stumbled out of the box and never reached first base, casting doubt over her ability to make the majors.

Chutzpah of the month: to the California Association of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). The non-profit association — which lobbies for 36 HMO insurers — is looking for a few good mouths to spread its message to the public and to lawmakers. Only one catch: It doesn't plan to pay for the service. The association has requested that Sacramento public-relations firms provide "*pro bono* counsel and services." The association's wish list includes a press kit, a brochure, help with its newsletter, advice on improving its visibility and suggestions on how to lure reporters to its news conferences. Finally, the association expects its free advisor to join its ranks — at $600 a pop.

(Michael Browne, Sacramento)

The first Jewish saint. *Campaigns and Elections* magazine has done what 5000 years of Hebraic history has not: created a Jewish saint. The anointed is not Sampson, Moses, Golda, or even Paul Newman. It is Henry Waxman, the Democratic congressman who represents portions of West Los Angeles. The canonization was made in an August article on political machines.

(Mitchell Omerberg, Los Angeles)

Condit, the liberal. Republicans want desperately to capture the 15th Congressional District seat vacated last June by Democrat Tony Coelho. Even though the special primary election has yet to be held and the special general election is months away, the GOP already is bashing the likely Democratic candidate — Assemblyman Gary Condit of Ceres. In a recent fund-raising "lasergram," state GOP Chairman Frank Visco said the most dastardly things about Condit.

Why, Visco called Condit "one of the most liberal members of the entire California Legislature ...," implying that Condit is right up there with Maxine Waters, Tom Bates, Terry Friedman and — aaack — Tom Hayden.

Not only that, Condit is (gasp!) "one of Willie Brown's favorite political puppets. You and I cannot permit Willie Brown to pull strings in the U.S. Congress and the California Legislature!"

In case you're confused, this is the same Gary Condit who, as a leader of the Gang of Five, tried to topple Willie Brown's speakership in 1987 and 1988. And the same Gary Condit whose Capitol office is, thanks to Willie Brown, smaller than a 1970 Civic. And the same Gary Condit whose staff and choice committee assignments were stripped away by Speaker Brown faster than Dreyfus lost his sword. And the same Gary Condit whose close friend and ally Charles Calderon challenged Brown for speaker last December, with the active support of (gasp!) Assembly Republi-

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can leader Ross Johnson and most members of the GOP caucus.

Ah, but they're very clever, these Democrats, explained Visco. You see, the way it works is, uh, Condit now has sold out to Brown in order to secure the Democrats' congressional nomination without a primary brawl. It was really Willie Brown who flexed his political muscle and cleared the field for Condit, Visco charged, keeping out such likely spoilers as Assemblyman Jim Costa. Thus, said Visco, Brown reminded everyone of his power in the Legislature *and* helped get Condit out of the Assembly.

Hyperbole aside, Republicans have made one campaign tactic very clear: They plan to glue Condit to Willie Brown — a tactic, by the way, that has thus far failed to dislodge him from the 27th Assembly District. In fact, Condit was considered so solid in 1988 that Republicans failed to mount any challenge to his reelection.

Capitol Stampede. State legislators are in a money-raising frenzy these days, thanks to an appellate court ruling last month. The court decided that a section of Proposition 68 (the *other* campaign-reform measure approved in June, 1986) banning off-year fund raising was valid despite a ruling to the contrary by the Fair Political Practices Commission. The court, to be merciful, said that lawmakers could continue raising money until its ruling became "final." Although there is some dispute about just when that day will be, there's no doubt that it covers the last weeks of this year's legislative session — a time when the primary preoccupation around the Capitol is not passing laws but fattening campaign treasuries. After all, is there a better time to remind lobbyists and their clients about the quality of their elected representatives than when all their bills are pending? Since the court ruling, elected officials have been tripping over themselves to squeeze out every last contribution before the axe falls. Some have hustled up inventive fund-raising events, usually at high prices. Others have taken the more direct route, simply sending out letters

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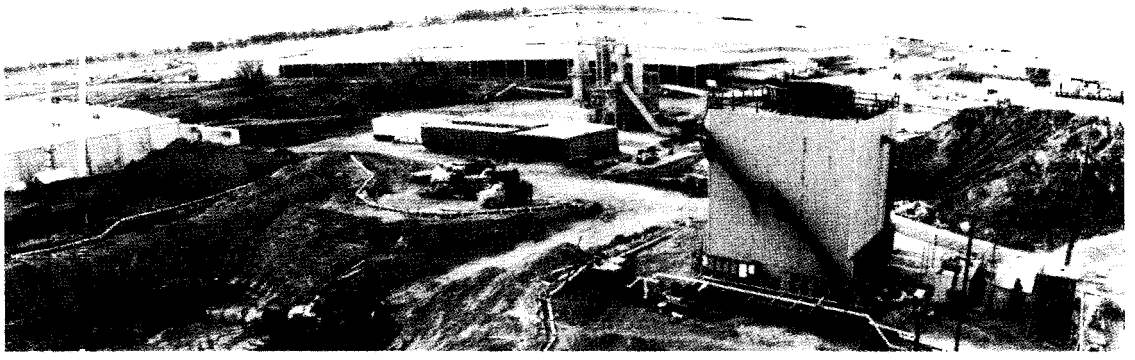

Everyone agrees California has a hazardous waste problem, but not everyone knows there is a solution.

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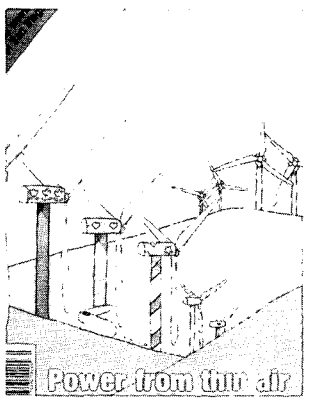

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saying, in effect, "Send bucks now."

Attention K-Mart shoppers! Once again Los Angeles lawyer Gloria Allred had struck a blow on behalf of all women in California. On behalf of two aggrieved shoppers, she successfully forced Saks Fifth Avenue to revise its practice of charging women for the alteration of clothes, but not men. The settlement, Allred contends, will "save women millions of dollars and will mend the relationship between Saks and American women," which has apparently been severely damaged by this offense. The store promised to change its ways and to pay Allred's $24,081 fee in the case. Her two clients were thrilled by the results. After all, each said she spent between $5000 and $10,000 per year on clothes. We hope this doesn't mean that Willie Brown is going to have to start paying when Wilkes Bashford takes in his pants.

Oops of the month — them. The following "correction" was printed in the July 27th edition of *San Francisco Sentinel*, a weekly newspaper serving the gay community. "Due to a fax problem we inadvertently identified Assemblyman Dan Hauser [Democrat, Eureka] as having AIDS. Please accept our apologies."

Oops of the month — us. Last month, due to a facts problem we inadvertently referred to Chancellor Hilary Hsu of the San Francisco Community College District as "she." The chancellor is a "he." Please accept our apologies.

"A statesman wishes to steer, while a politician is satisfied to drift."
— James Freeman Clarke

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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ROSTRUM

Slate mailers

Concerning your article on slate mailers (see "Slate mailers," *CJ*, July 1989), if anyone believes that Congressman Tom Campbell (Republican, Palo Alto) and his campaign were ignorant about the true nature of the Democratic slate mailer in his district, I have a few bridges in my hometown of New York that I would like to sell to them. I don't have any problem understanding why Campbell did what he did (buying a place on the mailer); but he compounds it by insulting the intelligence of voters in his district.

JOE CERRELL
Los Angeles

Wind energy

Your article on wind energy (see "Power from thin air," *CJ*, July 1989) was a rehash of old news. The new news is that the industry has moved forward since the federal energy tax credits expired at the end of 1985. That credit was intended to provide risk capital to help a new industry develop, and that objective was accomplished. Since the tax credit expired, projects have been financed by major banks and insurance companies, as well as by equity positions taken by two large public utilities. In 1989 nearly 2 billion kilowatt hours (KWh) of electricity will be generated by wind in California — enough to supply the annual needs of 300,000 homes. The average cost per KWh for wind energy is about 8 cents, 1 to 3 cents less than for nuclear energy.

Wind energy has overcome early reliability problems. Wind turbines are a very new technology and have been operating commercially for only eight years. The point obscured by your article is that wind turbines are working well, given their relative position on the scale of technological development. We are proud of our accomplishments and grateful for the tax credits which gave our industry its start.

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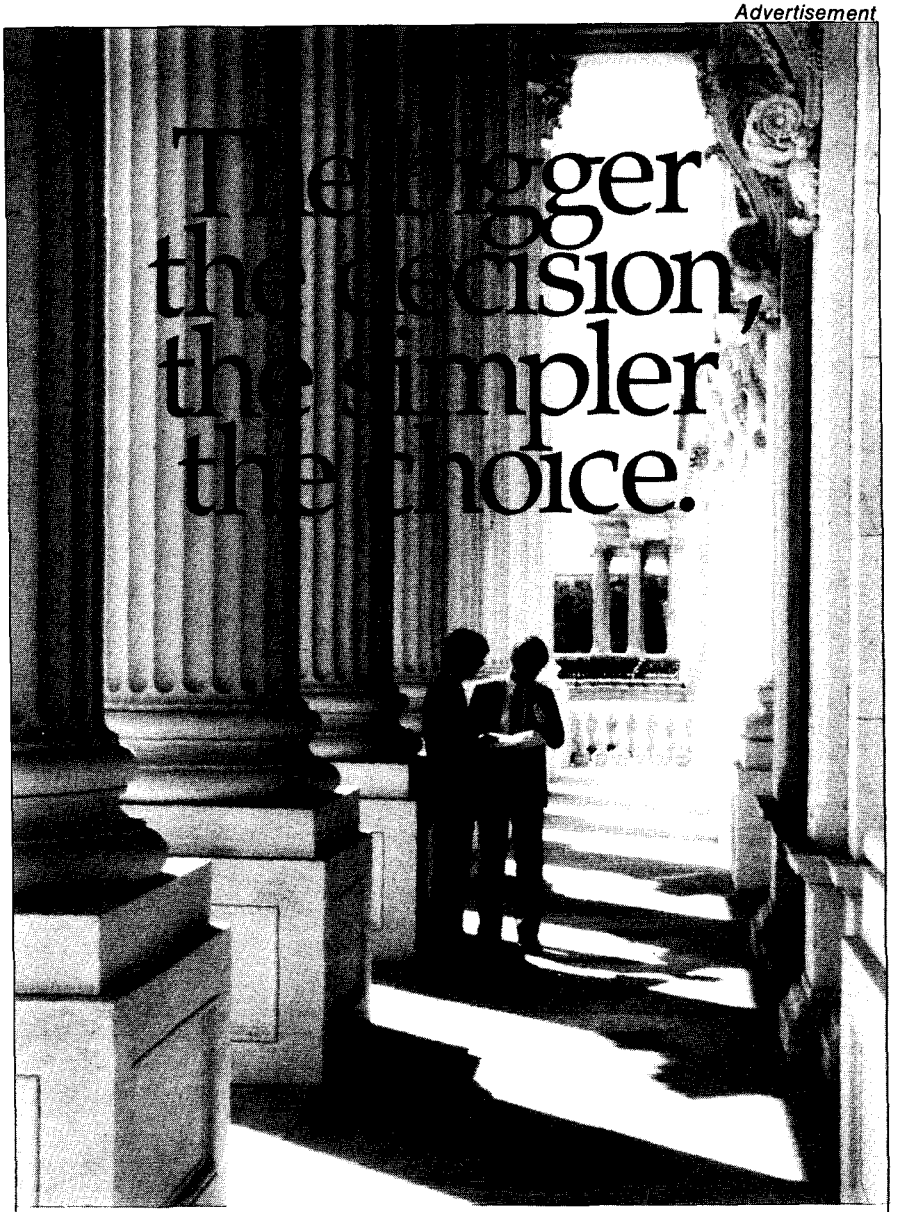

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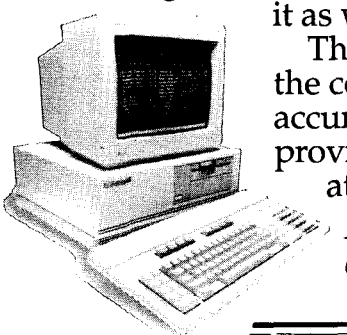

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Staff photos by Rich Pedronceili

Among the Assembly staff's power elite are (left to right) Tim Gage, Michael Galizio, William George and Mark Watts.

Senate staff poobahs include (left to right) Nancy Burt, Cliff Berg, Fred Silva, Rick Rollens and Mel Assagai.

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LEGISLATIVE CLOUT

Is staff really in charge?

By James Richardson

Rick Rollens leaned forward in his state-issued leather chair in a stuffy Capitol meeting room on a recent June afternoon. Before him were the five barons of the Senate Rules Committee, five of the most powerful lawmakers in the Legislature. Rollens, an employee of the Senate for 14 years — virtually his entire adult life — began rattling off his recommendations on what bills should go to which committees.

With cool efficiency, Rollens that day wielded enormous clout over the fate of legislation in California.

The Rules Committee had 150 Assembly bills to distribute among the Senate's policy review committees. Most were easily placed. But others sparked jurisdictional disputes between committee chairmen jealously guarding their turf — and perhaps mindful of the potential campaign contributions a big bill could bring. The choice of committee might decide whether a bill ultimately passed or failed.

The first bill of the afternoon — a measure on auto insurance fraud — was claimed by two chairmen: Democrat Alan Robbins of Van Nuys, chairman of Insurance, Claims and Corporations; and by fellow Democrat Bill Lockyer of Hayward, chairman of Senate Judiciary

Rollens recommended Judiciary. There were no objections from the barons.

"Such will be the order," came the ruling of Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, the Los Angeles Democrat who is chairman of Senate Rules.

Next came Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's bill requiring employers to provide health-care plans for their employees — one of the hottest items of the session. Robbins wanted the bill in his committee. So did Bill Greene, a Los Angeles Democrat who is chairman of the Senate Industrial Relations Committee.

Rollens gave his nod to Greene's committee. No objections.

"Such will be the order," intoned Roberti.

Although Rollens recited his recommendations with complete dispassion, the politics behind the big bills seethed just below the surface. Rollens' recommendations could be pivotal. Powerful senators had written Rollens letters all week setting forth their jurisdictional claims. Concerned lobbyists and authors had buttonholed him. Rollens researched precedents by consulting law books and a collection of "3 x 5" cards he keeps in his office, showing where bills have gone in the past.

With one exception, the Senate Rules Committee followed Rollins' every recommendation that day. Roberti overrode Rollins on one — a resolution on desecrating the American flag that Roberti wanted to keep in the Rules Committee.

Nor is it always that easy. A week or two later, the jockeying for jurisdiction became so intense on another of the speaker's bills — this one on insurance — that Rollens made no recommendation.

Although they don't appear on "How a Bill Becomes Law" charts, it's doubtful the Senate Rules Committee could run for long with without Rollens or a dedicated staffer like him. Nor could any of the state's 120 lawmakers function long without the work of secretaries, sergeants-at-arms, clerks, consultants, legislative assistants and policy analysts. "They are indispensable," Roberti said.

But the sheer size of the Legislature's army of aides, some 2400 strong, and the power staffers like Rollens wield, raises serious questions about whether they are too much of a good thing. Political scientist Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, herself an ex-staffer, has often expressed concern that the legislative staff has become overly political, a powerbase in its own right that is unduly influencing the state's legislative agenda (see "Legislative staff," *CJ*, January 1987).

Legislators now have so many experts that any lawmaker can legislate on virtually any subject. Senator Robbins alone in the 1987-88 term introduced 120 bills on subjects like animal rights, interstate banking, the death penalty and insurance — to name but a few topics. The most consistently successful lawmaker, Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside, has won major legislative battles over prison construction, smog district regulations and child welfare.

Neither could have managed without a staff of experts.

But with so many legislators legislating on so many subjects, an avalanche of bills — 5000 this year alone — now confronts every lawmaker in Sacramento. None can master more than a handful. The unscrupulous have numerous opportunities to slip things through, as undercover FBI agents discovered when they had phony companies sponsor bills in the hope of at-

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James Richardson is a Capitol correspondent for the Sacramento Bee.

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tracting the attention of potentially corrupt lawmakers.

Nor has this explosion of staff-generated information made it easier for legislators to act. "Just because you have a big staff that can produce from its computer exactly what a new tax bill will do won't make you any wiser," maintained political scientist Malcolm Jewell of the University of Kentucky and a national expert on state legislators. "If anything, it might make it harder to act because everyone knows exactly what it will do in their district. It doesn't give them political courage."

The presence of staff members has become so pervasive that California lawmakers now find themselves communicating with each other primarily through aides — a trend some lawmakers find alarming. A veteran Assembly Republican recently complained that only "once or twice" a month will legislative colleagues bother coming to his office. Most contact between legislators is confined to cramped elevators, brief floor sessions and political fund raisers. Lawmakers often find themselves negotiating not with each other but with their surrogate aides. The clubby days of old are almost gone.

"There is not," agreed Speaker Brown, "the same kind of close, daily contact between members of the Legislature where you get to know people on a personal basis. There are fewer opportunities for those interpersonal relationships to be developed because the social atmosphere is not the same."

It is therefore hardly surprising that a well-placed staff member is often pivotal in shaping the position of his or her boss. For example, Mel Assagai, a top assistant to Roberti, played such a role with the controversial Los Angeles prison bill in 1986. Although Roberti initially favored Governor George Deukmejian's plan to build a prison on the edge of East Los Angeles neighborhoods, he eventually became its most forceful critic. Roberti's opposition forced Deukmejian to call a fruitless special legislative session that Fall.

Behind the scenes, staffer Assagai was instrumental in reversing Roberti's position. Assagai, who controls access to Roberti, presented the counter arguments and set up meetings with East Los Angeles residents. "I pointed out [to Roberti] they were demonstrating in front of the Capitol," Assagai later said. "I kept bringing that to his attention."

No staffer in either house of the Legislature has as much power as Clifford Berg, whose official title is executive officer to the Senate Rules Committee. No staffer is paid better. Berg pulls down $108,960 a year, plus perks that include a state-paid car. His yearly pay includes a $600-a-month bonus. Some 115 other favored Senate staffers get some sort of bonus out of a special state office fund controlled by each senator.

Who's who among

SENATE:

Clifford Berg, $108,960, Executive Officer to the Senate Rules Committee — Top gun in "Roberti-land," Berg is the man senators see when they want committee assignments. Chief advisor to Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, Berg also is responsible for managing the Senate's budget and provides Roberti with advise on a wide range of issues. Berg is a humorless, smooth, urbane and tenacious negotiator who can whittle away at any argument. He has adeptly juggled the demands of egotistical senators, many of whom believe he personally works for them. However, he is unwavering in his loyalty to Roberti.

Mel Assagai, $95,064, assistant to the pro tempore — Roberti's gatekeeper, Assagai decides who gets in to see Roberti — the key to his considerable clout. Assagai provides advice on issues and represents Roberti to a variety of interest groups and constituents. A former reporter with *The Sacramento Bee*, Assagai also provides media advice and watches out for Roberti's political interests.

Nancy Burt, $89,688, Administrative Director — Administrator for Roberti's personal staff, Burt also serves as his surrogate to other lawmakers on legislation and budget issues. She also drops off the state payroll during election time to perform a variety of campaign chores for Roberti. A former college English teacher, Burt caught the political bug years ago running political campaigns.

Stephen J. Larson, $87,240, Special Assistant to the Chairman, Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Committee — Chief of staff to the Senate's primary budget committee, chaired by Democratic Senator Alfred Alquist of San Jose. Larson oversees a staff of budget analysts for Alquist and provides budget strategy advice for Democrats. His clout tends not to extend beyond budget issues.

Rick Rollens, $87,240, Special Assistant, Rules Committee — Rollens recommends to the Rules Committee which Senate committee should be assigned to which legislation. Rollens also oversees a staff responsible for writing the bill analysis that each Senator gets on his or her desk in the Senate chambers before voting. A former legislative aide to Democratic Senator Alan Robbins of Van Nuys, Rollens rose through the ranks for 14 years, handling hundreds of bills for his ex-boss. He is credited with knowing every nook and cranny a bill can fall through and has an instinct for reading the minds of senators.

J. Fred Silva, $87,240, Special Assistant, Rules Committee — Roberti's top advisor on fiscal issues and an expert on the state budget. Silva is responsible for acting as a surrogate for Roberti to the governor's office and the Assembly. "He's our numbers cruncher," said another staffer. His clout stems from knowing more about the budget and state finance than anyone else — with the possible exception of Larson — and putting his knowledge into plain English.

Karen K. French, $82,680, Staff Director, Appropriations Committee — Oversees a large staff of policy analysts responsible for analyzing all legislation coming before the Senate chief

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As the top gun in what staffers call "Roberti-land," Berg is both the chief administrative officer of the Senate and Roberti's top policy advisor. Berg controls the office budget of every senator. When senators seek committee assignments, they talk to Berg. The assignments are worked out on a large, green magnetic board in Berg's fourth floor windowless Capitol office. Each senator's name is inscribed on a little magnetic label that Berg can move around the board.

A cadre of staffers work under Berg, among them Simon Haines, possessor of an encyclopedic knowledge of legislation present and past. Lobbyists often make their case to Haines, knowing that his recommendation holds weight with Berg and Roberti.

Roberti's surrogate to other legislators often is Nancy Burt, who has worked for Roberti since 1975. Senators frequently find themselves negotiating on legislation with staffer Burt, rather than with Roberti. "When there are issues David [Roberti] feels strongly about, she will represent him," said Republican Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach.

Burt said her job is to loyally "convey Senator Roberti's wishes" to senators, insisting, "I do not make policy for Senator Roberti."

Like many staffers, Burt got her start working in election campaigns; in her case, walking precincts for the late Senator Walter Stiern of Bakersfield. And like many other Capitol staffers, Burt takes time off during election years to work in political campaigns, usually for a candidate given the nod by Roberti. Numerous staffers maintain campaign consulting firms on the side. Larry Sheingold, aide to Senate Majority Whip Henry Mello of Watsonville, is a partner in the campaign firm "Directions" and was one of the masterminds behind the $3 million special election that brought forth a newly minted Democratic senator, Cecil Green of Norwalk, in 1987.

In the Assembly, Speaker Willie Brown's staff is more diffused, with no single staffer holding as much power as the Senate's Berg. Brown has divided power roughly between Michael Galizio, his chief of staff and top advisor on all things policy and political, and Robert Connelly, the chief executive officer of the Assembly Rules Committee, who handles internal Assembly affairs.

Working for Galizio, who is both Brown's chief of staff and head of the Office of Majority Services, are a group of policy experts and other aides. Whereas Roberti observes a chain of command, Brown has a much more casual leadership style. "It's a much more loose structure than in the Senate," said Galizio. "All of the policy consultants have direct access to the speaker."

Continued on next page

legislative staff

fiscal committee. She has managed to keep her position and clout under two Democratic chairmen of widely differing personalities — the folksy and foxy Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside and the temperamental but smart Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord.

ASSEMBLY:

Robert Connelly, $104,112, Chief Administrative Officer — Holds the purse strings in the Assembly, a weapon Speaker Willie Brown wields to reward and punish colleagues. Connelly is chiefly responsible for upgrading the technology and physical plant in the Assembly, turning the house into an exhibit of what lawmakers can do with high-tech if they have a staffer who puts his or her mind to it. Connelly stays out of legislation. With a wide background of government services, including those as a forestry official under Jerry Brown, Connelly has a fabled temper but is extraordinarily efficient.

Steven Thompson $90,720, Director, Assembly Office of Research — He has clout because he has known the speaker a long time and is one of the sharpest policy analysts in the Capitol, particularly on health issues. Thompson, former chief of staff to Brown, heads a staff of 30 researchers who churn out reports on a variety of issues. Thompson has been a committee consultant and left the state to set up his own think-tank for seven years before returning to the Assembly.

Michael Galizio, $92,616, Chief of Staff to the Speaker and Director of the Office of Majority Services — Oversees nine policy analysts on the speaker's immediate staff, provides advice on media strategy (his expertise) and performs a variety of other tasks for the speaker. As head of the Office of Majority Services, he's in charge of the political operatives who, among other tasks, help run district offices — and the next election campaign.

Mark S. Watts, $90,720, Director, Minority Staff of Ways and Means — Republicans on the Assembly Ways and Means Committee lured Watts back from the private sector not long ago by making him the highest paid GOP staffer in the Assembly and better paid that his Democratic counterpart. Watts oversees a staff of five and provides advice to Republican Ways and Means Vice Chairman Bill Baker of Danville. Watts knows bureaucracy from the inside, having worked for eight years as an analyst at CalTrans.

William C. George, $79,704, Assistant Chief Clerk — Looks after 10 professionals in the clerk's office providing analysis of every bill reaching an Assembly floor vote. A lawyer, his office gives special focus to the legal and constitutional issues of every bill — issues occasionally overlooked by policy committees. A former deputy county counsel for San Diego, George is an experienced trial lawyer. He came to the Legislature as an aide to then-Assemblyman Jack Knox as an expert on tort law.

B. Timothy Gage, $75,216, Chief Consultant, Ways and Means — Top budget advisor to Assembly Democrats, oversees the staff at the Assembly Ways and Means Committee chaired by Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose. Every bill that spends money — and that is most every big bill — must eventually pass muster at Ways and Means if it has any chance of passage, giving the staff of Ways and Means huge power.

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Connelly holds the purse strings in the Assembly, controlling the allocation of everything from office space and computers to paper clips. He does not wade into legislation.

Brown also relies on several ex-staffers for advice, including public-relations executive Bobby Metzger, his former press secretary. Metzger numbers several members of the Assembly among her clients and occasionally does work for the speaker as well. Her connections to the speaker are cemented by the fact that she is married to Galizio.

Moreover, the Assembly staff is generally younger and the power distribution among the staff changes frequently. A number of staffers who were powerful only a few years ago, like the Assembly Democrats' political guru Richie Ross, are now gone and new faces have taken their place. Among the Assembly staff stars to emerge from the 1988 campaign were Daniel Eaton, whose talents landed him the deputy slot in the Speaker's Office of Majority Services. Eaton reputedly gained star status by stage-managing a tough election last Fall — that of Democrat Bob Epple of Norwalk (63rd District).

Although Roberti and Brown have the largest staffs, power in the Legislature is increasingly diffused. Individual legislators and alliances of legislators wield considerable influence over legislation — and so do their aides.

Although Republicans are in a minority, they hold enough votes to block any bill requiring a two-thirds vote — a category that includes every bill proposing to appropriate money, including the state budget. The recommendations of Republican staffers therefore can be critical. In the Assembly, Republican lawmakers get a fat daily summary book on every bill, with staff recommendations on how to vote. Republican leaders exert considerable pressure on their colleagues to stick to the book.

The recommendations are prepared under the direction of staffer Richard Temple, who has been a key adviser in the GOP's election efforts to win control of the Assembly. By enforcing such a strict system of bloc voting, Speaker Brown has long complained that Republican lawmakers have abdicated their votes to unelected staffers.

Unlike in the Assembly, Senate Republicans do not have a strict caucus voting system but get strategic advice from a staff directed by long-time political operative John Feliz, an ex-Los Angeles police detective and top aide to Republican Senator John Doolittle of Rocklin. Staffers Temple and Feliz have plenty of clout within Republican ranks, but their influence on the Legislature as a whole ebbs and flows with the issues and whatever success they have in outsmarting the majority party.

Every major committee in the Legislature has dual staffs of Republican and Democratic policy analysts. Every bill is subjected to a "neutral" analysis available to the public and then a private partisan analysis — usually on colored paper — for each side.

Mark Watts, director of the minority staff for the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, has five staffers working for him on such summaries for the exclusive use of Republicans. "We take a look at the philosophical basis for the bills," he has said. "Our staff allows the members and their constituents a better shot at shaping the legislation."

Friendly Republican and Democratic lawmakers often swap the partisan "cheat sheets," leading occasionally to strange floor debates over the fine points of an analysis that not every lawmaker — much less the public — has had a chance to see.

Few legislators are willing to openly criticize the staff — another indication of the power it holds. However, Senate Republican Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno has said legislators have as tough a time taming their own bureaucracy as they do the larger one in the executive branch. "Some of these people have been on the legislative staff so long that the policy is sometimes theirs and not the Legislature's," said Maddy.

The diffusion of power in the Legislature has also led to some independent players on the staff — aides who have worked the halls for so long they are almost viewed as assistant senators. Two such players well-known in the halls are Barry Brokaw, special assistant to Democratic Senator Daniel Boatwright of Concord, and Jerome Haleva, staff director to Republican Senator William Campbell of Hacienda Heights. Their duties are not clearly spelled out on paper but their names are inextricably linked as surrogates for their bosses. How much clout they wield, beyond the limited clout of their bosses, is questionable and probably out of proportion to their paychecks. Haleva is paid $92,280 a year while Brokaw is paid $87,240, putting both in the top five highest paid Senate staffers.

Not all staffers handle bills. The Legislature has its own think-tanks in the Senate and Assembly offices of research. The Senate even has a foreign-relations office — the Senate Office of Protocol, headed by staffer Susan Foreman. The office arranges Senate trips to foreign lands and escorts foreign dignitaries visiting the Legislature.

Every legislator also has at least one district office filled with staffers performing a variety of duties only a step removed from politics. A typical office might be that of Riverside's Democratic Assemblyman Steve Clute. Situated about two blocks from Riverside City Hall, an aide in Clute's Riverside office every morning dutifully clips every district newspaper looking for notices of birthdays, anniversaries, graduations and awards won. Congratulatory letters are prepared for Clute's signature along with stacks of "Recognition Certificates" that he can hand out on weekend visits to his sprawling district. There are more than 100 district offices like it in the state for the 80 Assembly members. Democratic Assembly members get their district office staffs practically wholesale out of a catalog from the Speaker's Office of Majority Services. This Sacramento-based office provides the blueprint and guidance for all of the Democratic district offices.

In the decade to come, there is little likelihood of a sizable reduction in the numbers and power of the legislative staff. In fact, lawmakers are constantly pressuring their leaders to give them more. How much staff a legislator is assigned is a mark of his or her prowess. Prior to his fall from grace, for example, Assemblyman Steve Peace, a Democrat from Chula Vista, had more staff at his command than anyone in the Assembly except Speaker Brown. When he became a linchpin in the "Gang of Five" dissident Democrats who sought to oust Brown, Peace was stripped of that help. When some of the staff was restored, Capitol insiders read it as a sign that at least some Gang members had been rehabilitated. But in the modern Legislature, the staff is not just a status symbol but a necessity for meeting the increasing demands of everyone else's staff — both those of other legislators and of lobbyists.

"I'm taking on some institution all the time with three staff," complained Democratic Assemblyman Tom Hayden of Santa Monica. "I've got 15 battles going on at once out of this office, and I am continually understaffed and overextended against lobbies who are single minded."

"In the ordinary run of things," said Hayden, "it's a legislator with a staffer against somebody who has a hundred chapters, a million dollar budget and a single focus."

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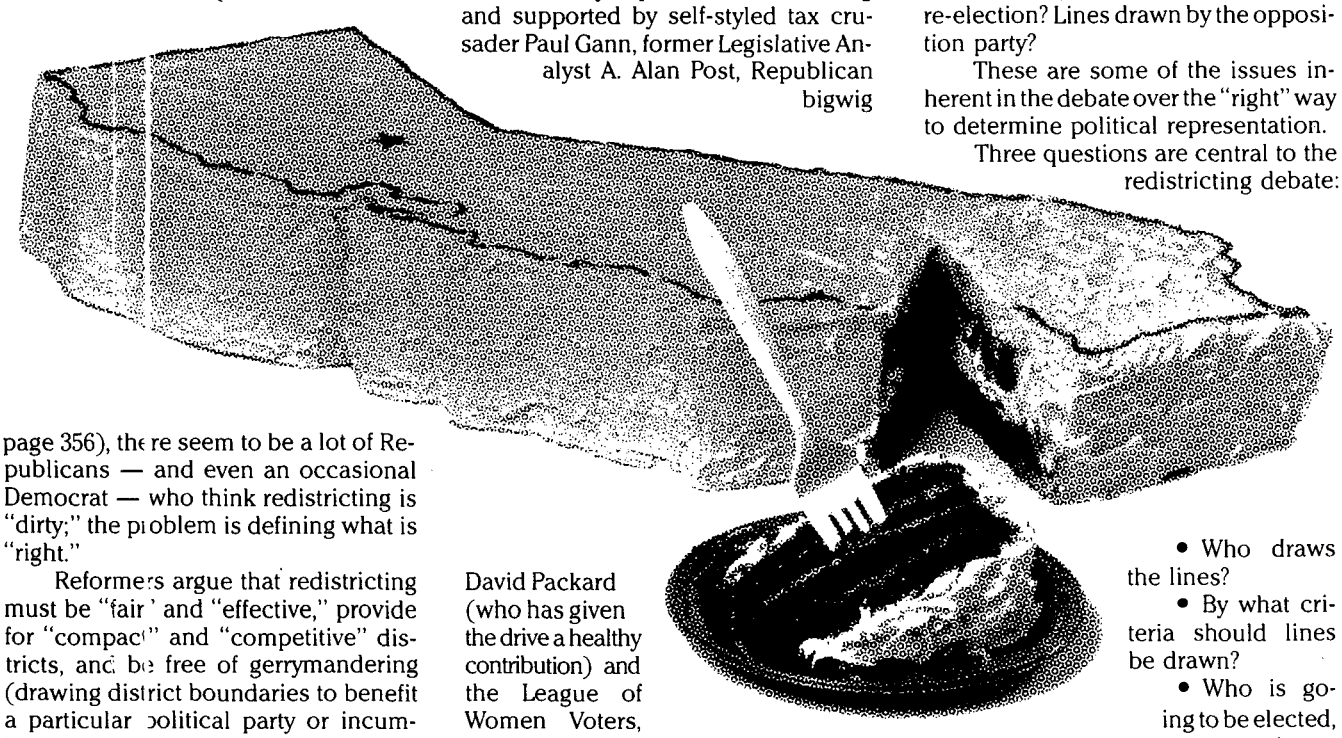
Carving up California

The scramble is on in the reapportionment game

By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Reapportionment is like sex. As Woody Allen is supposed to have said about the latter, "It's only dirty if you do it right." Historically, the party out of power thinks it's "dirty" and the party in power thinks it's done "right." This time around is no exception.

Judging from the spate of initiatives currently circulating to change the way California's legislative and congressional districts are drawn after each decennial census (see Ballot Front, page 356), there seem to be a lot of Republicans — and even an occasional Democrat — who think redistricting is "dirty;" the problem is defining what is "right."



Reformers argue that redistricting must be "fair" and "effective," provide for "compact" and "competitive" districts, and be free of gerrymandering (drawing district boundaries to benefit a particular political party or incumbent).

The stated goal of the "Honest Elections Initiative by Californians for Honest Elections," sponsored by W. Bruce Lee II of the California Business League (CBL) is "to provide fair and effective representation of all citizens of the state" and a "fair opportunity" for minorities "to elect the candidates of their choice."

The "Legislative Ethics Enforcement Initiative of 1990," sponsored by Gary Flynn (who was active in Governor George Deukmejian's ill-fated 1984 ballot measure), and supported by GOP campaign consultant Sal Russo, combines reapportionment with legislative ethics reform "to safeguard the people's right to fair and responsive government."

"The Independent Citizens Redistricting Initiative," sponsored by San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening and supported by self-styled tax crusader Paul Gann, former Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post, Republican bigwig David Packard (who has given the drive a healthy contribution) and the League of Women Voters, strives for "openness and accountability in government" by requiring "that the process of redistricting be moved from behind the scenes to an open public process."

Assembly Republican Leader Ross Johnson has offered a proposal (The Legislative Reform Act of 1990) which combines legislative reforms with reapportionment reform to "ensure that the rules of procedure that are applicable to legislation that establishes boundaries for electoral districts enhance the role of all Members of the Legislature and their constituents in its consideration and passage."

Three minor proposals play similar themes. They are Republican state Senator Bill Leonard's "The Fair Competitive Districts Initiative," John Stanaland's "Fair Reapportionment Act of 1990" and John Stoos' "Citizens' Reapportionment Reform Act."

But what do these buzz-words mean? "Fair" to whom? Effective in doing what? Who gets compacted and what does that really do to competitiveness? What constitutes a gerrymander? A bizarre shape? A history of incumbent re-election? Lines drawn by the opposition party?

These are some of the issues inherent in the debate over the "right" way to determine political representation.

Three questions are central to the redistricting debate:

- Who draws the lines?
- By what criteria should lines be drawn?
- Who is going to be elected, once new district lines are drawn?

Currently in California the responsibility for drawing district lines rests with the state Legislature, subject to the governor's veto and the possibility of a voter referendum or judicial review.

Some reformers argue that to allow legislators to carve their own districts is a basic conflict of interest and that the excesses of gerrymandering and incumbent "sweetheart" deals will not be overcome until redistricting is removed from legislative hands entirely. Two of the proposals do that.

The Stanaland initiative would require the secretary of state to adjust

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boundaries "in accordance with" certain, detailed "standards and guidelines which are mandatory." But the assumption that placing the redistricting function in a ministerial office would make the process any more mechanical — or less political and partisan — can be a dangerous one. As Professor Dan Mazmanian of the Claremont Graduate School observed, "Even a mechanistic approach has 'non-mechanistic' consequences. There is no such thing as ... mechanistic reapportionment."

No matter how ministerial or apolitical an office may appear to be, it can, with skillful manipulation, function as a partisan, highly political office. As one wag put it, "Don't they remember that Jerry Brown was once secretary of state?"

Thus the Huening initiative aims to take reapportionment out of the hands of elected officials altogether. It calls for a 12-member "Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission," consisting of five Democrats, five Republicans and two others. Together the commissioners must be "generally representative of the geographic, gender, racial, and ethnic diversity of the state." Politicians, their staffs and families are excluded from serving on the commission. Commission appointments would be made by retired appellate justices from a list of nominees submitted by California's "nonpartisan, nonprofit public-interest groups."

Although Gann has lauded the initiative as "the people's program," others have referred to it derisively as a "rich man's reapportionment" because of the cost of the time, technology, and expertise needed to come up with the statewide plan required by the initiative.

Critics have also questioned the exclusion of California's political parties and other political groups from the process, leaving the redistricting game primarily to what Los Angeles Democratic Senator Bill Greene called "lily white, middle-class people" who "do not represent anything that comes from Watts, South Central, Compton, or Southeast L.A."

Even the state League of Women Voters, who support the Huening commission, concluded in a recent report that "redistricting is so political an issue that there is wide acknowledgment that 'neutral' or 'nonpartisan' commissions are an impossibility." For one thing, "most appointments will be made by persons with partisan credentials. Also," the report observes, "the redistricting may result in elections that favor one party over another, and the commission will probably be *perceived* as having been partisan."

There is also that old political adage: "The definition of a judge is 'a lawyer with a friend who is a politician.'" Realistically, a "neutral" selection of "representative" commissioners, cannot be guaranteed. Just as important, a politically cynical public may not perceive it as such.

The obverse argument is that a commission, because it won't owe its job to the political process, would be even less accountable than legislators who must stand for election. Former GOP reapportionment consultant Tony Quinn disagrees, arguing that "the political process doesn't work because the gerrymandered districts won't allow any change."

But that argument, like current initiatives, tends to ignore other factors which keep incumbents safe, such as money and name recognition and the responsiveness of some legislators to their districts.

A more important failing of redistricting by commission is that Californians have been loath to accept it. Ballot propositions to establish commissions have been defeated twice in the last decade. Quinn argues that this is a manifestation of "the conservatism of California voters. They're against creating any more layers of bureaucracy."

Other strategists can also read polls and election results. So this time out, most reform proposals don't call for removing redistricting from the hands of the Legislature. They require instead constraints on the ability of lawmakers to engage in the kind of "creative cartography" exhibited in the 1981 Congressional redistricting.

These constraints generally fall into two categories:

- Procedural requirements for passage of reapportionment plans; and
- "Objective" criteria to be followed when the Legislature draws district boundaries.

Alan Heslop, director of Claremont McKenna College's Rose Institute, argues that currently, "the great problem in redistricting is that there are no rules." These plans, he says, "would impose rules upon it. All would set standards for its evaluation ... [and] regularize the procedures involved."

Currently, passage of reapportionment plans requires a majority vote of both legislative houses and the governor's signature (a two-thirds vote is necessary only to override a gubernatorial veto). Perhaps the most controversial of the procedural reforms popular this year is the requirement of a two-thirds vote in the Legislature for passage of reapportionment plans. The CBL, Johnson and Flynn initiatives all use it.

The CBL believes that "the incentive to compromise should result in the Legislature's adoption of fairer reapportionment plans."

But some legislative critics argue that requiring a two-thirds vote would lead to legislative deadlock, or what Common Cause's Walter Zelman has labeled "the only redistricting deal easily cut by a two-thirds vote — the creation of safe seats for all incumbents."

Another popular reform seems to be imposing time limits and deadlines on various stages of the reapportionment process, as Huening, Flynn, and Johnson do. According to Johnson, current rules "do not permit public scrutiny in order to ensure that the great majority of districts are as free as possible from effective competition at elections."

Deadlines may also solve another problem for Republicans: They might prevent a last-minute reapportionment by the Democratic-controlled Legislature, which would leave the governor and the courts little room to maneuver.

Two initiatives require that bills be filed with the two Rules Committees (Johnson) or a beefed-up Joint Ethics Committee (Flynn). Committee membership would be decided by the party caucuses and require partisan balance. Currently, redistricting is the purview of Democratic-controlled policy committees.

But procedural rules are made to be bent; legislative deadlines are routinely missed. Far more significant are the complex "objective" criteria which various initiatives would impose on legislative reapportionment.

Currently, the California Constitution requires single-member districts which must be reasonably equal in population, geographically contiguous, numbered consecutively from north to south, and drawn to maintain the geographic integrity of cities, counties and geographic regions insofar as possible.

Additional constraints on California's reapportionment are the U.S. Supreme Court's "one man/one vote" ruling and the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that plans not dilute minority voting strength.

Current initiatives lean toward an emphasis on strict geographic criteria. For example, Huening requires that certain mountain ranges not be split. The Flynn initiative also contains strong contiguity requirements. Stanaland re-

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quires that districts be built from census tracts starting with the most northwestern tract in the state.

Why this emphasis on physical boundaries, even beyond what the state Constitution now requires?

Republicans argue that such criteria are necessary to maintain "communities of interest." Democrats insist that such communities are not necessarily defined by geographic boundaries. Democratic media guru Tony Schwartz has suggested that community boundaries might reflect the circular pattern of radio signals, because "while we pay taxes and vote within the irregular boundaries of city and state lines, we are united to those who share electronically radiated information with us."

Observes Lorn Foster, associate professor of government at Pomona College, "Our legislative leaders don't just represent geographic regions, but they represent communities of interest broader than the areas in which they stand for election."

But all the major initiatives, with the exception of Ross Johnson's, spend a significant amount of space talking — sometimes incomprehensively — about standards of compactness and contiguity designed to prohibit gerrymandering.

The question is: "When does 'compactness become 'packing?' " Republicans have long argued that their voters have been unfairly "gerrymandered" into a few bizarrely-shaped districts with high GOP registration.

The Huening initiative talks of "polygon" shapes, and the CBL initiative about "square" districts. But just because a district looks pretty on a map doesn't mean it isn't a gerrymander. Observed Foster, "Because we now have computer technology, we can create districts that are compact, contiguous and equal in population ... and are as jerry-rigged ...."

And indications are that more often than not GOP-oriented voters would benefit by these requirements at the expense of Democrats, particularly those in minority communities. Insisted one Democrat, "Compactness simply means Republican."

Of particular concern to Democrats is the impact of geographic requirements on minority voting strength. The CBL initiative contains detailed provisions concerning the creation of racial, ethnic and minority districts. According to the proponents, "Caucasians have often represented Black and Hispanic communities ... because these ghettos and barrios have been grossly fragmented among several districts."

But, say critics, the CBL plan "wastes" minority votes by going too far in stuffing them into "compact" districts.

There is some speculation that several of these criteria might not pass muster under the federal Civil Rights Act or are so rigid that they cannot possibly be met. Either of these outcomes would throw the 1991 reapportionment plans into the courts.

Says Foster, "No matter what the California Legislature does, no matter what the voters do, there is going to be oversight by the Department of Justice and ... on the part of potential minority plaintiffs. So we will have some form of federal litigation or negotiation. No matter what."

Some of these initiatives, such as Huening and the Business League proposal, also look to the judiciary for redress. They appear to rely on the courts to buffer reapportionment from politics. But make no mistake, all challengers to redistricting understand that the California experience has been that the courts, like other institutions of government, are political.

In June 1982 voters overwhelmingly rejected Democratic-devised redistricting plans, but the Rose Bird-led state Supreme Court allowed the Fall elections to proceed under the rejected lines. And in 1983 the Court removed from the ballot a set of plans qualified by then-GOP Assemblyman Don Sebastiani on the heels of a "midnight" reapportionment done by Democratic legislators and signed into law just hours before Democrat Jerry Brown relinquished the governorship to Republican George Deukmejian.

The actions of "Sister Rose and the Supremes," protected the 1982 Democratic reapportionment efforts, and it is legitimate to wonder whether the current Deukmejian-appointed majority would act the same way to save the Republicans.

Some Democrats contend that narrow criteria and unrealistic requirements are there to provide Republicans with a "fail-safe" method of circumventing a Democratic Legislature and, possibly, a Democratic governor by shifting the redistricting fight to a friendly court.

But Republican Quinn argues, "The beginning of the downfall of Rose Bird was when she made that decision in 1982, because that really set the [Republican] partisans against her. I think the Court will do everything it can to stay out of this."

Unspoken in this is the assumption that the current redistricting method is producing legislators who are somehow other than what the electorate really wants or deserves. Republicans openly complain that they don't have all the representatives they deserve, and good government advocates say the current system of "safe" districts produces unresponsive lawmakers in both parties who tend, because they are truely challenged only in their party primaries, to represent the extreme of their political party, rather than the more moderate majority of the population.

No matter what each initiative may want to accomplish, a recent Field poll indicated what most savvy politicians already know — Californians are generally indifferent to or ignorant of reapportionment. And election results have indicated they'd sooner leave the redistricting process well enough alone.

Thus it's not surprising that some of this year's proposals use legislative and governmental ethics reform as a "hook" to sell redistricting reforms, playing on public concern over governmental ethics and legislative performance — which has surfaced in the wake of the FBI sting — skyrocketing campaign costs, policy gridlock and ethical questions raised at every level of government.

The Johnson and Flynn initiatives fall into this category. The Flynn ethics package has been characterized as "shallow" by both Republicans and Democrats. But the Johnson initiative seems to be taken seriously by both sides. Quinn thinks the Johnson initiative is "the only thing likely to pass ... because it is a reform of the Legislature. I don't think it has the constitutional problem ... And he has proven he can get his passed." (The proposal contains provisions of Paul Gann's legislative reform initiative, Proposition 24, which was passed but overturned by the state Supreme Court.)

Questions have been raised about the legality of these two-pronged initiatives under the state Constitution's "one subject only" requirement. However, Tim Hodson, consultant to the Senate Elections Committee, points out, "The case law clearly indicates a predilection of the courts to bend over backwards in favor of initiatives."

In the play, "A Walk in the Woods," the world-weary Russian arms-control negotiator tells his eager American counterpart, "History is geography over time." How a nation behaves is, in part, a function of its boundaries. That is the crux of this wave of reapportionment

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reform. Controlling the state's political agenda requires changing the boundaries of the electoral districts to redefine the community of interests — and the voter majorities — represented within them.

The odds are that California Republicans will face an uphill battle to do that if the current redistricting system remains in place. Reshaping the political map requires choosing the people who draw the districts or changing the rules by which districts are drawn.

But the race for governor is wide open and there is little chance that both houses of the Legislature will change hands in 1990. Another legislative reapportionment like that after the 1980 census could doom the state's Republican party to minority status for the next decade, if not permanently. That's why Democrat Katz labels the redistricting initiatives "the Republican attempt to do through the manipulation of the rules what the voters won't do at the polls."

Clearly, no Republican rule changes will get through the Democrat-controlled Legislature. Senators Bill Lockyer and Barry Keene, among other Democrats, are pushing the most serious legislative proposal. It would keep redistricting in legislative hands — subject to certain criteria — but send the plan to a commission for review and possible amendment. But they, too, are experiencing some opposition from both Democrats and Republicans and may have to consider the initiative process.

Where does that leave real reform? What *is* real reform? Is real reform possible? Warns Hodson, "Everybody claims that they are out for 'objective, neutral standards'. It is difficult — but not impossible — to develop neutral standards. It *is* impossible to guarantee that neutral standards will be implemented in a neutral way."

No policy is ever "implemented in a neutral way"; that is an axiom of political decision-making. Redistricting — the definition of political boundaries — is a political decision. Political decisions require value choices; people with predilections, goals, ideological and political loyalties define even the most "objective" criteria.

It is the duty of the electorate to evaluate those policy choices and, if the voters don't agree with them, "throw the rascals out." In today's political system that is easier said than done. And that is a reality that drawing new lines won't change.

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,178 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parenthesis is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

New in circulation:

REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMMISSION — an initiative constitutional amendment *and* statute, sponsored by San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening, would require that state Senate, Assembly, congressional and Board of Equalization districts be redrawn by a 12-person commission appointed by retired appellate court justices. The Commission would review plans submitted by registered voters and adopt a plan or amend a plan that complies with standards. Senate districts would be formed from two adjacent Assembly districts and Board of Equalization districts from 10 adjacent Senate districts. (December 11, 1989)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John Stanaland of Laguna Beach, that would have the secretary of state draw districts for state Senate, Assembly, Congress and Board of Equalization. Among other things, this measure stipulates that districts be based on census tracts without regard to city or county boundaries. (December 11, 1989)

LEGISLATURE. ETHICS. REAPPORTIONMENT. — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gary Flynn of San Rafael, that would change state constitutional provisions governing redistricting for the state Senate, Assembly and Congress and require that any new plan be approved by two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature *and* approval by voters. Also, the measure would reschedule state senatorial elections to the second, sixth and tenth years following the census. Among other provisions, the proposal would establish a Joint Legislative Ethics Committee and set certain ethical standards governing conduct by legislators. (January 2, 1990)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE; SUPREME COURT, JUDICIAL REVIEW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by W. Bruce Lee II of Sacramento, that would require that reapportionment plans for Assembly, state Senate, Congress and Board of Equalization districts be adopted by two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature and signed by the governor. Among other things, the measure provides for a procedure whereby any eligible voter in California may request that the state Supreme Court review the plan to ensure that it complies with standards set forth in the initiative. If the Court determines that a plan violates terms of the initiative, the measure empowers the Court to consider other reapportionment plans and mandate enactment. This is the sixth reapportionment initiative currently in circulation. (December 18, 1989)

Continuing in circulation:

REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by John Stoos and Chris Fellersen of Sacramento. The eighth reapportionment initiative of the decade. (August 28th; July 1989 *CJ*)

AIDS — an initiative statute sponsored by Bruce Decker of the Health Policy and Research Foundation (Los Angeles), Dr. Michael Gottlieb (Sherman Oaks) and Reverend William Wood of the California Catholic Conference (Sacramento). (October 27th; July 1989 *CJ*)

RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Chamberlain of Sacramento. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

SPLIT ROLL PROPERTY TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Bill Zimmerman of Santa Monica. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

CRIMINAL LAW — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim, Colleen Thompson Campbell of San Juan Capistrano, and Kern County District Attorney Edward Jagels. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

ELECTION DATES — an initiative statute sponsored by Thomas Neece of San Francisco. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

SCHOOL PRAYER — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Eunice Parquet of Oakland. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

RAIL TRANSPORTATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral and James Knox of Sacramento and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATURE. INTERNAL RULES. REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Brea. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

WILDLIFE PROTECTION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral, Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly and Sharon Negri of Sacramento, and by J. William Yeates of Monterey and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State

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SPECIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION

Abortion politics pits Republican against Republican

By Dan Smith

Tricia Hunter

Richard Lyles

Linda Brannon

The usually sleepy Assembly district represented by Bill Bradley since 1982 got its wake-up call soon after the respected Republican died of cancer on June 1st.

Residents of the vast 76th Assembly District — which sprawls from the booming San Diego County suburbs of Escondido and Poway through the Temecula Valley wine country and into the affluent Riverside County desert cities of Indian Wells, La Quinta, Rancho Mirage and Palm Desert — found themselves at center stage of a nationally proclaimed referendum on abortion rights.

Before the curtain fell on a special primary election August 8th, network camera crews and *The New York Times* had descended on the district, more than $400,000 had been poured into the campaigns of six of the 10 candidates in the race, and the already-fragmented Assembly Republican caucus had split a little more.

The Republican primary normally would have produced Bradley's successor, since the district is overwhelmingly GOP. But not so this time because the GOP primary winner was a pro-choice advocate — 36-year-old nurse Tricia Hunter. The runner-up, Richard Lyles, opposes abortion and has decided to challenge Hunter as a write-in candidate in the October 3rd run-off election. Lyles' challenge also beams a ray of hope on Democrat Jeannine Correia (also pro-choice), who may be able to eke out a victory if Hunter and Lyles split the Republican vote.

All of this comes in sharp contrast to the conservative Bradley, whose quiet ways left only a small mark on the Assembly during his seven years there. Staunchly anti-abortion, the former city engineer routinely trounced Democratic opposition in low-spending elections in a district where Republicans hold a registration edge over Democrats of 54 percent to 33 percent. The contests barely drew coverage from the local newspapers, let alone feature stories on the "Today" Show.

But the expected low voter turnout and unique rules of a special primary election — where candidates from both parties appear on the same ballot and cross-over voting is permitted — made Hunter's candidacy an attractive plum for pro-choice advocates. Spurred by the U.S. Supreme Court's July 3rd decision expanding the ability of states to restrict abortions, groups like the California Abortion Rights Action League and the National Organization of Women saw their chance to showcase some political muscle. Campaign polls showed Hunter's support tripled after the court ruling. Hunter also benefited from nearly $100,000 in independent expenditures on her behalf by the California Nurses Association. The

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Dan Smith is the Sacramento correspondent for The Press-Enterprise *newspapers of Riverside.*

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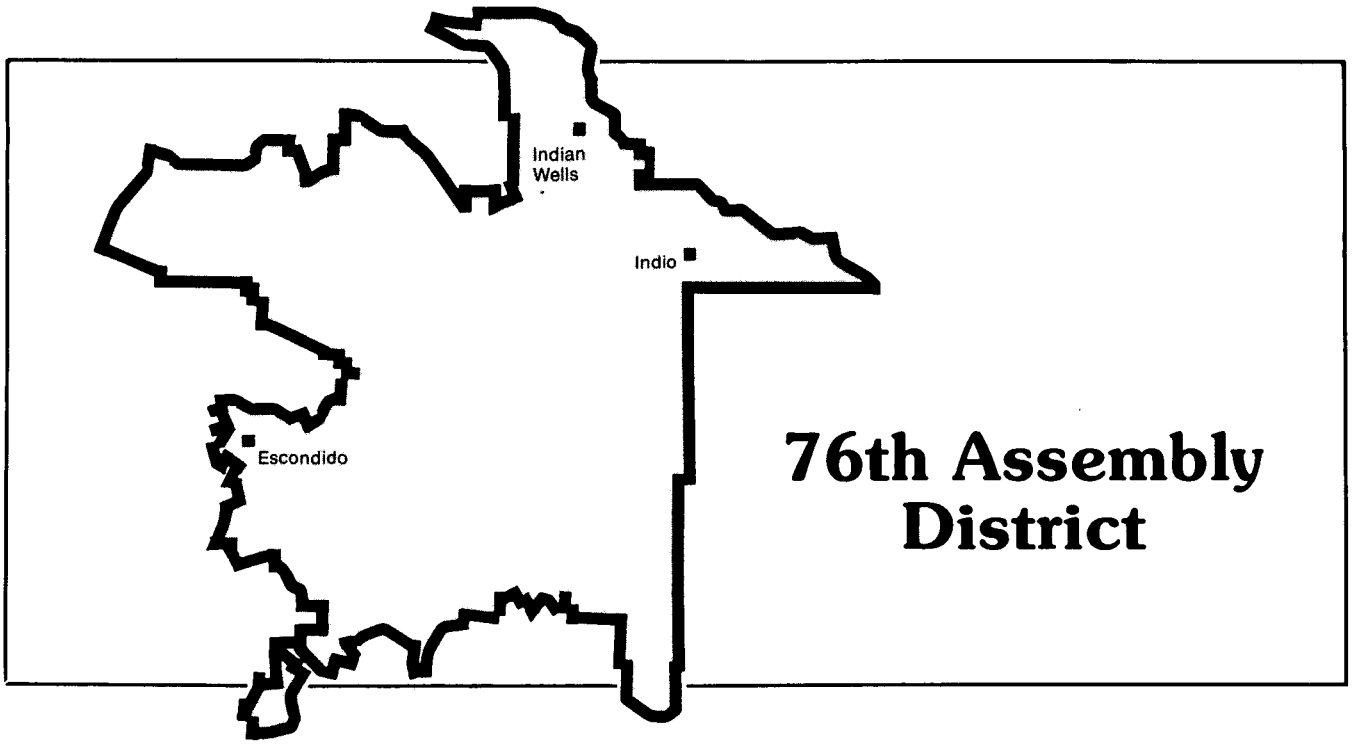

groups ignored the two pro-choice Democrats in the race, realizing that neither had a chance. Instead they sought support from pro-choice nurses throughout the state and won a last minute endorsement and contribution from former Republican U. S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau.

Meanwhile, the Assembly Republicans, nearly all of whom are anti-abortion, were busy fighting over two other candidates: Lyles, a Poway management consultant, and Poway City Councilwoman Linda Brannon. Bradley's widow, Margaret, endorsed yet another candidate — Dennis Koolhaas, a legislative aide on leave from the district office of Senator Bill Craven, an Oceanside Republican whose district includes much of the 76th.

Soon after the Legislature left for summer recess on July 21st, Assembly Republican Leader Ross Johnson sent, on Lyles behalf, an urgent fund-raising plea to Sacramento-based special-interest groups. The letter claimed the money "will be genuinely appreciated by most members" of the caucus, even though only eight caucus members signed and at least seven others had announced support for Brannon.

Johnson's move angered the Brannon supporters in the caucus, some of whom are part of the so-called "Magnificent Seven" (minus Bradley) — a dissident faction that had opposed Johnson's predecessor, Pat Nolan, and has viewed Johnson skeptically since he assumed the post in December. They said Johnson had promised the caucus would stay neutral in memory of Nolan's ill-fated 1986 forays into contested GOP primaries.

After Hunter narrowly defeated Lyles, Assemblyman Charles Quackenbush of Saratoga and the lone Hunter supporter among Assembly Republicans, said Johnson could lose his job over the incident. "Ross Johnson went way out on a limb on this, and he got his head handed to him. It was a big mistake," Quackenbush said. "There are a lot of us who are very upset. I'm not going to forget it soon,"

Johnson's press secretary, Anne Richards, said the minority leader's move was prompted by "real paranoia" that Hunter would "buy the election." His letter warned that Hunter was the chosen candidate of "liberal special interest groups and labor unions with close ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos ..." a theme that would continue. The Lyles campaign repeatedly brought up the name of Jean Moorhead, the former Republican Assemblywoman (and nurse) who ultimately switched parties, and asked the question, "Could it happen again?"

Lyles supporters also provided eyewitnesses who allegedly spied a Brown political operative, Bill Cavala, lurking around the Hunter campaign headquarters. Cavala denied any involvement, explaining that he had been on vacation playing golf with his wife. Officially, Brown press secretary Susan Jetton denied the speaker was involved, although saying he would be pleased to have another pro-choice vote in the Assembly. "We don't interfere in Republican elections. We wouldn't want them messing with ours," she said.

Lyles wasn't the only attacker. Shortly after the Cavala sightings, Hunter accused Lyles of inflating his military and educational credentials in campaign brochures. And days after Bradley's funeral in June, Margaret Bradley assailed Lyles for implying that her late husband would have supported him. She accused Lyles of quietly gearing up a campaign while Bradley struggled with his terminal illness.

Both sides of the abortion debate claimed victory — pro-choicers because Hunter won and anti-abortion forces because the total votes cast for anti-abortion candidates slightly exceeded those for pro-choice candidates. Anti-abortion advocates also noted that their opponents spent a ton to get Hunter elected in the conservative district, a spending spree that would be difficult to repeat in a regular election with 100 legislative seats at stake.

Now that Lyles has announced his write-in effort, Johnson faces something of a dilemma. If he continues to back Lyles, he risks splitting the Republican vote and opening the door for a Democratic upset. He also risks demolishing whatever harmony remains inside his own caucus by reopening wounds inflicted on it by Nolan in 1988. Back then, being a Republican wasn't enough; one had to be the right kind of Republican.

Jan Carroll of the Sacramento office of the National Right-To-Life Committee, vowed to continue the fight in the 76th District: "It's a pro-life district and we intend to stay involved until a candidate is elected who represents those views."

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JERRY BROWN LEGACY

CCC

Conservation Corps comes of age

Photos courtesy of CCC

By Lee Wallace

Ten years ago Governor Jerry Brown was desperately defending his three-year-old California Conservation Corps from an onslaught of criticism. The program, modeled after the 1930's Depression Civilian Conservation Corps, was supposed to put wayward urban youth to work protecting the state's natural resources. But it had failed to attract the 1000 initial corps members and little work had actually been done. The organization had gone through two directors, and Republicans were openly gleeful about the failure of one of Brown's "new age" programs.

But in 1979 Brown appointed former Army officer and Vietnam veteran B.T. Collins as the corps' third director. Collins, a flamboyant Republican, put the CCC on the map. His tenure ended after three years, but he left a healthy legacy. He changed the corps' image from a namby-pamby social program to one more akin to military basic training. He garnered lots of publicity, and he convinced legislators to support the program, in part, by finding projects that corps members could perform in the legislators' districts. Today, Republicans love the program. It has flourished under Governor George Deukmejian, and the California Conservation Corps, directed by Bud Sheble, is being used as a model by President George Bush and federal legislators to form a national corps.

The CCC is growing faster than ever. Since 1976 more than 36,000 people have been members. There are 17 centers throughout the state for 2200 corps members, and there are now non-residential stations where people can live at home and still work in the field, planting trees, fighting fires and floods and performing other environmentally protective tasks.

But when Collins took over, the corps had only 60 of the 1000 members it was supposed to have. With an attrition rate of 38 percent, says Collins, the CCC looked as though it would die. "But the press became my savior," he said.

Collins launched a publicity campaign aimed at both legislators and the public. The CCC motto — "hard work, low pay, miserable conditions" — became known across the state. He even got Jerry Brown out in the snow to plant a tree at the first CCC camp in the San Bernardino mountains.

The media focused on the colorful Collins, known universally as B.T., and what they called his "Hitler" tactics in rearing corps members for one year to do sometimes incredibly hard work for minimum wages.

Collins claims what he asked corps members to do "for their country" was often "illegal." He demanded, for example, that all members give blood. On occasion he demanded

Lee Wallace is a California Journal *intern.*

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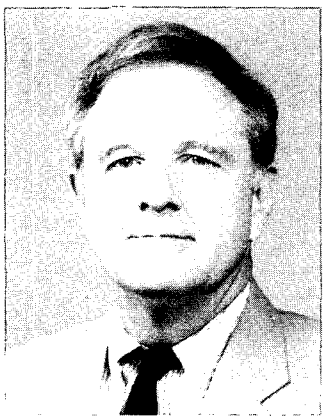
seven-day work weeks so that projects could be done quickly. "All illegal," he chuckles deviously, relishing his contributions. The corps' members would rise to the occasion with enthusiasm, he says, because "they felt good about what they were doing."

Collins ran the CCC like a military operation. He had undercover cops search corps members' barracks for drugs. If you were one minute late on the job, you lost a day's pay. If you got caught drinking alcohol on CCC premises, you were kicked out.

One of Collins' most heartfelt beliefs when it came to running the CCC was, "This society has never drawn a line for kids and said you can't cross it or else. Kick kids in the ass and they learn to respect you and themselves," he adds.

He met the Republicans on their level, and it's the Republicans, he says, who kept the CCC alive. "I didn't sell the



Collins

Sheble

legislation with touchy, feely stuff" — demonstrating how beneficial the work was in helping young adults gain self respect. "Taxpayers didn't want to see happy kids; they wanted to see hard workers doing labor cheaply," and that's what Collins showed the public and the legislators.

Because of Collins' efforts, the CCC continues to grow. Its $22 million budget under Governor Brown has grown to $58 millon under Republican George Deukmejian.

Sheble, appointed director by Deukmejian in 1983, says Deukmejian has "embraced" the CCC throughout his governorship and has expanded it. Under Deukmejian the corps not only focuses on improving the environment but also on improving corps' member education as well.

Sheble indicates that the CCC motto concerning its "miserable conditions" has now been changed to indicate "miserable conditions ... and more." The "and more" is what Deukmejian has accomplished, he says: more benefits for the corps member; more access to classes at community colleges while corps members are working for the CCC. More also means that members must work to achieve their high school graduation equivalent if they don't have a degree. All CCC members are supposed to be trained in how to write a good resume and handle interviews after they leave the corps. Sheble says corps members are being given skills that will help them find jobs. Every corps member who meets certain requirements is eligible to receive a $1000 educational scholarship after leaving the corps.

Originally, the CCC was designed to pay the minimum wage to young members between the ages of 18 and 23. The corps did not charge for the work it performed. Things have changed somewhat over the years — not the wages, those are still minimum — but now the CCC is receiving money for some of the work it does, and the number of those projects is increasing. For example, the CCC took in more than $2 million in reimbursable projects during the past fiscal year, with CalTrans, the state's transportation agency, paying some $1 million of the total.

Although doing work for CalTrans brings in the money, some corps members and officials worry that the organization is moving away from its original environmental mission.

Jim Teegardin, supervisor of the Elkhorn Slough crew outside of Watsonville, says he didn't join the CCC years ago to work on highway jobs for CalTrans. Jim Bithos, a 19 year-old corps member at the Elkhorn Slough, says he was involved with some CalTrans projects when he was stationed at the Santa Clara CCC center, and it was not what he expected of the CCC. "[Corps members] ate their lunch out in the middle of the highway" after working on the roads for CalTrans, Bithos said. Bithos entered the CCC because he was interested in forestry work. Supervisor Teegardin says many new CCC members "join the CCC to be little rangers" and CalTrans does not fit that need.

New CCC members don't have a say in which of the 17 stations they will be sent to in California for their first four months. Instead of being out in the woods, they could end up at the urban Santa Clara center. Director Sheble does not think the CCC is misrepresenting their organization through literature stating "corps members build parks and trails, plant trees, restore historic buildings, ... and improve wildlife habitat. They also fight floods and forest fires."

"Kids know they may get this [urban] kind of job," Sheble says. "Cleaning drainage canals" on the highway is a needed task, and "it would cost the taxpayers much more to do CalTrans projects if they were paying for regular labor."

Santa Clara Project Director Brenda Herman says at least 70 percent of the CCC jobs are still the more traditional environmental projects that are done free of charge. She says, reimbursable projects are needed to expand the program and maintain quality living for the members.

Regardless of whether CalTrans jobs "enhance California's natural resources" or not, the CCC is still in the forefront of protecting the environment in other areas. Recently, the 12-member Elkhorn Slough crew cleared campsites and trails in the Pfeiffer-Big Sur State Park south of Monterey. They also made a trail for the blind and handicapped in the Big Basin Redwoods in the Santa Cruz mountains. These are jobs that Jim Teegardin says would never get done without the CCC. The Santa Cruz crew and the Santa Clara crew worked on reinforcing stream banks in Henry Cowell Park in Santa Cruz so eroding stream banks would not disturb fish spawning ponds. This summer many of these corps members are also fighting fires throughout the state.

It is obvious that the CCC members gain a greater appreciation for the environment. Eighteen-year-old Gary Ray, known as the "Iron Butterfly" among his crew mates because his frail looks conceal unsuspected strength and because of his fondness for '60s music, says "Everyone complains about ruining the environment, but no one does anything about it." He adds, "Now, I'm doing something."

Doing something is right. Crew members get up at 5:30 in

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the morning and do physically strenuous work for eight hours in any weather. Members may spend all day hauling 50- to 80-pound logs. Or they might extract boulders from a freezing stream for river bank reinforcement.

Crew leader John Morganelli at Elkhorn Slough is known as a "hard ass." He is serious about his job and he expects his crew to be as well. He believes the CCC produces individuals who will be hard workers after leaving the CCC because he demands that they be responsible, hard-working individuals in everything they do under his leadership.

> ***"This society has never drawn a line for kids and said you can't cross it or else. Kick kids in the ass and they learn to respect you and themselves."***
>
> ***— B.T. Collins***

Members of the CCC as well as its administrators believe the CCC builds character — a kind of character that will be marketable after the CCC members graduate, although the corps has never done a study to see how its members fare once they graduate.

The people who enter the CCC are not always the high school dropouts or the drug-problem kids parents don't know what to do with, but there definitely is a share of these. Morganelli said of one of his crew, "Josh was a beer-drinking fool when we got him — he could hardly do a push up." Now, Josh is just under the Morganelli-set standard of 95 push-ups in a minute.' Morganelli considers him a responsible worker now. Other crew members represent a different group. Some kids have high school diplomas and managed to get decent jobs after high school, but entered the CCC because they have an interest in forestry. The CCC has proven to be a good "in" for young people with aspirations of joining forestry service — particularly for those who have done some fire fighting while in the corps, according to Hank Weston, chief of conservation camps for the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection.

Something else the CCC seems to accomplish for its members is a motivation to move up in the CCC ranks. Members strive to become a part of the CCC Helitack program--put together by the CCC and the department of forestry. Fifty corps members are selected yearly to learn to fight fires in CDF's air attack helicopters. Corps members can also apply for rigorous "back country" trips taking them deep into the wilderness for months to cut fire trails. Internships are also available with the Department of Fish and Game and the Department of Parks and Recreation.

Sheble sees the CCC expanding over the next few years. "It is a sound and conceptual program which has proven itself," he says. Recently, after the massive Alaskan oil spill, the state of Alaska contacted the California Conservation Corps to come to Alaska and help clean up the mess. They didn't go because Alaska wouldn't pay for the work, but the request does signal possible larger scale roles for the Corps.

The federal government is focusing on the CCC as well. Sheble has been invited to Washington twice since February to offer suggestions about starting a national youth service. President Bush is backing a plan right now, using the CCC as its model, called YES — Youth Entering Service.

Around the country, some 50 states, cities and counties participate in similar youth-service programs. These programs have a combined annual budget of $150 million. The CCC alone has a budget of almost half that, or $58 million.

B.T. Collins, who is now the chief deputy for Republican state Treasurer Thomas Hayes, gives credit to his fellow party members for keeping the CCC from failing. Others say it was Collins himself who really kept the Corps afloat. Whoever is the hero behind the CCC's survival, the program has become a model for the modern American youth service program.

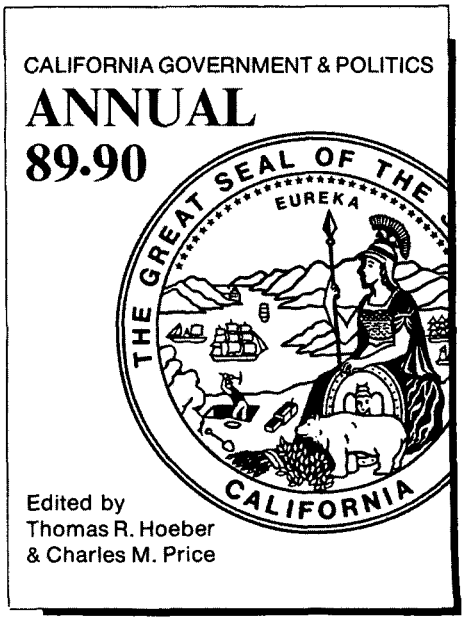
New from *California Journal*

California Government and Politics Annual, 1989-90

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

The brand-new 20th edition of *California Journal*'s **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1989-90 edition contains chapters on the various branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, the press, direct democracy, local government, and current issues. The 128-page, large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus tax.



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NEW ISSUE **BOOK ENTRY ONLY**

In the opinion of Jones Hall Hill & White, A Professional Law Corporation, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, subject, however, to certain qualifications described herein, under existing law, the interest on the Bonds is excluded from gross income for federal income tax purposes and such interest is not an item of tax preference for purposes of the federal individual and corporate alternative minimum taxes, although it is included in adjusted net book income and current earnings in computing the alternative minimum tax imposed on certain corporations. In the further opinion of Bond Counsel, such interest is exempt from California personal income taxes. See "TAX EXEMPTION" herein.

$22,299,217.46
LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE AUTHORITY
1989 Refunding Revenue Bonds
(Redevelopment Agency of the City and County of San Francisco Financing)

Dated: CABS: Date of Delivery
Current Interest Bonds: July 15, 1989

Due: August 1, as shown below

The Bonds are issued in accordance with an Indenture of Trust, dated as of July 15, 1989 (the "Indenture") by and between the Local Government Finance Authority (the "LGFA") and First Interstate Bank of California, as trustee (the "Trustee"). The proceeds of the Bonds will be used to refund certain bonds of the LGFA.

Payment of the principal and Accreted Value of and interest on the Bonds when due will be insured by a municipal bond insurance policy to be issued by

Municipal Bond Investors Assurance Corporation

simultaneously with the delivery of the Bonds.

The Bonds will be prepared as fully registered Bonds and, when delivered, will be registered in the name of Cede & Co., as nominee of The Depository Trust Company, New York, New York ("DTC"). DTC will act as securities depository of the Bonds. Individual purchases of interests in the Bonds will be made in book-entry form only, in denominations of $5,000 or any integral multiple thereof (in the case of Current Interest Bonds) or in denominational amounts consisting of $5,000 Maturity Amount or any integral multiple thereof (in the case of Capital Appreciation Bonds). Purchasers of such interests will not receive Bonds. Principal, Accreted Value, premium, if any, and interest, DTC will in turn remit such principal, Accreted Value, premium and interest to the DTC Participants for subsequent disbursement to the Beneficial Owners of the Bonds, as described herein.

Interest on the Current Interest Bonds is payable semiannually on February 1 and August 1, commencing February 1, 1990, by check mailed to the registered owners of record thereof as of the close of business on the fifteenth day of the month preceding each interest payment date, except as otherwise described herein. Interest on the Capital Appreciation Bonds and any premium payable thereon will be payable solely upon maturity or earlier redemption. The Bonds are subject to redemption prior to maturity as more fully described herein.

The Financing Authority intends to issue its 1989 Taxable Tax Allocation Revenue Bonds (San Francisco Housing Projects) (the "Taxable Bonds") in the aggregate principal amount of $16,900,000. The Taxable Bonds will be limited obligations of the Financing Authority and will be payable solely from, and be secured by, amounts payable by the Agency to the Financing Authority under the Loan Agreements. The proceeds of the Taxable Bonds also will be lent to the Agency pursuant to the Loan Agreements to finance public improvements in the Project Areas. Pursuant to each Loan Agreement, the Agency may incur other indebtedness secured by a pledge of and payable from Tax Revenues from the related Project Area on a parity with the Loan.

THE BONDS ARE NOT A DEBT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA OR ANY OF ITS POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS, AND NEITHER THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA NOR ANY OF ITS POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS IS LIABLE THEREFORE. THE PRINCIPAL AND ACCRETED VALUE OF, AND PREMIUM, IF ANY, AND INTEREST ON THE BONDS ULTIMATELY ARE PAYABLE FROM AND SECURED BY A PLEDGE OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS PAYABLE BY THE AGENCY TO THE FINANCING AUTHORIY UNDER THE LOAN AGREEMENTS. THE BONDS DO NOT CONSTITUTE AN INDEBTEDNESS WITHIN THE MEANING OF ANY CONSTITUTIONAL OR STATUTORY DEBT LIMITATION OR RESTRICTION. NEITHER THE MEMBERS OF THE LGFA OR ANY PERSONS EXECUTING THE BONDS ARE LIABLE PERSONALLY ON THE BONDS BY REASON OF THEIR ISSUANCE.

The obligations of the Agency under the Loan Agreements and of the Financing Authority under the Tax Allocation Bonds are not debts of the LGFA, the City or the Financing Authority, the State of California or any of its political subdivisions and neither the LGFA, the City, the Financing Authority, the State nor any of its political subdivisions is liable therefore, nor in any event will the obligations of the Agency under the Loan Agreements be payable out of any funds or properties other than those of the Agency as set forth in the Loan Agreements.

MATURITY SCHEDULE

$8,929,217.46 Capital Appreciation Bonds

Maturity	Initial Amount	Yield	Amount per $5,000 Final Accreted Value	Maturity	Initial Amount	Yield	Amount per $5,000 Final Accreted Value
2002	$1,003,872.54	6.60%	$2,149.62	2009	$618,966.47	6.75%	$1,325.41
2003	934,406.29	6.65	2,000.87	2010	579,210.76	6.75	1,240.28
2004	875,232.72	6.65	1,874.16	2011	542,004.87	6.75	1,160.61
2005	813,490.65	6.70	1,741.95	2012	507,194.69	6.75	1,086.07
2006	761,606,95	6.70	1,630.85	2013	474,616.77	6.75	1,016.31
2007	713,034.28	6.70	1,526.84	2014	444,131.01	6.75	951.03
2008	661,449.46	6.75	1,416.38				

$13,370,000 6.8% Term Current Interest Bonds due August 1, 2019 @ 99%
Plus accrued Interest on the Current Interest Bonds

Certain matters in connection with the offering and issuance of the Bonds are subject to the approval of the legality thereof by Jones Hall Hill & White, A Professional Law Corporation, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, and to the approval of certain legal matters by the legality thereof by Leo E. Borregard, Agency General Counsel, and certain other conditions. It is anticipated that the Bonds will be available for delivery in definitive form in New York, New York on or about August 1, 1989.

Goldman, Sachs & Co.

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NEW ISSUE **BOOK ENTRY ONLY**

In the opinion of Jones Hall Hill & White, A Professional Law Corporation, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, interest on the Bonds is exempt from California personal income income taxes. ***Such interest is included in gross income for federal tax purposes***

$16,900,000
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO
REDEVELOPMENT FINANCING AUTHORITY
1989 Taxable Tax Allocation Revenue Bonds
(San Francisco Housing Projects)

Dated: July 15 1989 **Due: August 1, as shown below**

The Bonds are being issued in accordance with an Indenture of Trust, dated as of July 15, 1989 (the "Indenture") by and between the City and County of San Francisco Redevelopment Financing Authority (the "Authority") and First Interstate Bank of California, as trustee (the "Trustee"). The proceeds of the Bonds will be used to pay the costs of certain public improvements.

Payment of the principal and interest on the Bonds when due will be insured by a municipal bond insurance policy to be issued by

Municipal Bond Investors Assurance Corporation

simultaneously with the delivery of the Bonds.

The Bonds will be prepared as fully registered Bonds and, when delivered, will be registered in the name of Cede & Co., as nominee of The Depository Trust Company, New York, New York ("DTC"). DTC will act as securities depository of the Bonds. Individual purchases of interests in the Bonds will be made in book-entry form only, in denominations of $5,000 or any integral multiple thereof. Purchasers of such interests will not receive Bonds. Principal, premium, if any, and interest, is payable directly to DTC by the Trustee. Upon receipt of payments of principal, premium, if any, and interest, DTC will in turn remit such principal, premium and interest to the DTC Participants for subsequent disbursement to the Beneficial Owners of the Bonds, as described herein.

Interest on the Bonds is payable semiannually on February 1 and August 1, commencing February 1, 1990, by check mailed to the registered owners of record thereof as of the close of business on the fifteenth day of the month preceding each interest payment date, except as otherwise described herein.

The Authority intends to issue its Tax Allocation Revenue Bonds (the "Tax-Exempt Bonds") in the aggregate principal amount of $22,299,217.45. The Tax-Exempt Bonds will be limited obligations of the Authority under the Loan Agreements. The proceeds of the Tax-Exempt Bonds also will be lent to the Agency pursuant to the Loan Agreements to finance public improvements in the Project Areas. Pursuant to each Loan Agreement, the Agency may incur other indebtedness secured by a pledge of and payable from Tax Revenues from the related Project Area on a parity with the Loan.

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The obligations of the Agency under the Loan Agreements are not debts of the Authority, the City or the State of California or any of its political subdivisions and neither the Authority, the City, the State nor any of its political subdivisions is liable therefore, nor in any event will the obligations of the Agency under the Loan Agreements be payable out of any funds or properties other than those of the Agency as set forth in the Loan Agreements.

MATURITY SCHEDULE

Maturity	Amount	Interest Rate	Maturity	Amount	Interest Rate
1990	$ 855,000	8.50%	1996	$1,405,000	8.85%
1991	930,000	8.60	1997	1,530,000	8.90
1992	1,005,000	8.65	1998	1,665,000	8.95
1993	1,095,000	8.65	1999	1,815,000	8.95
1994	1,185,000	8.70	2000	1,975,000	9.00
1995	1,290,000	8.80	2001	2,150,000	9.00

Price of all Bonds 100%
Plus Accrued interest

Certain matters in connection with the offering and issuance of the Bonds are subject to the approval of the legality thereof by Jones Hall Hill & White, A Professional Law Corporation, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, and to the approval of certain legal matters by the legality thereof by Morrison & Foerster, counsel to the Underwriter. Certain matters in connection with this offering are subject to the approval of the legality thereof by Leo E. Borregard, Agency General Counsel, can certain other conditions. It is anticipated that the Bonds will be available for delivery in definitive form in New York, New York on or about August 1, 1989.

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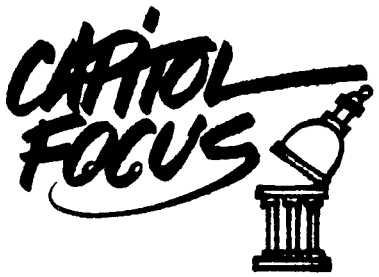

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ATTACK of the radio talk-show hosts

They killed the congressional pay raise. What's next?

By Charles Price

Cartoon by Pierre Babasin

It was a sure thing. A done deal. Nothing, it seemed, could stop a substantial congressional pay raise from taking effect on February 8, 1989.

Well, almost nothing.

Public outrage can derail nearly any sensitive endeavor of the Congress, and few things are as sensitive as congressmen arranging a larger slice of the federal pie for themselves.

Thus, the done deal was undone. Like a dangling thread that gradually unwinds an entire sweater, the pay raise unravelled in the weeks prior to February 8th. Although the public tugged at the thread, the issue had been kept alive and the public prodded to grasp it by a group of disparate radio talk-show hosts across the country. Eventually, the talk hosts formed an informal network that helped energize the controversy from coast to coast.

Was this "victory" by talk-show hosts a sign of emerging political clout? Or did the radio jocks merely ride the crest of an existing wave of indignation? Did they mobilize public opinion or exploit it?

Talk-show hosts thrive on controversy, and the pay-raise flap provided them with the perfect grist for their mills. Never mind that arguments in favor of the most recent raise came from sources as diverse as President George Bush and Common Cause. It is difficult to persuade someone making

Continued on next page

Charles Price is a professor of political science at California State University, Chico, and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

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$25,000 a year that members of Congress — earning $80,000, plus "perks" and honoraria — need a 51 percent salary hike. Never mind, too, that many of the talk jocks themselves earn in excess of $80,000.

In short, Congressional leaders sought to deflect public criticism for their pay hike by tying it to those for federal judges and other high-ranking federal employees. The raises had been recommended by an independent, bipartisan commission on federal salaries. To diffuse credit (or blame) for the raises, commission recommendations could only be stopped by a majority vote of *both* houses of Congress *against* the proposal. Not surprisingly, national surveys showed an overwhelming majority of Americans opposed to both the hike and the method.

And where did this national wave of grumpiness surface? Radio talk shows. Throughout January and February, 1989, talk-show hosts nationwide were innundated with thousands of calls from irate citizens. Callers (and many of the hosts) argued that pay raises should be based upon effective performance, and since Congress did so little, its members didn't deserve a large raise. However, because of the way the raise had been engineered, most everyone believed that stopping it was a long-shot at best.

That is, until talk hosts began to gain a feel for how much the raise was despised by their local listening audience — and by listeners all over the country.

Through the years, talk-show hosts had called one another on occasion to discuss matters of mutual concern. And in early 1989, through this informal network, they discovered that opposition to Congress' pay plan included all kinds of citizens — Republicans, independents, Libertarians and Democrats.

In a spontaneous groundswell, talk hosts began contacting one another on the air to report on the anti-pay raise campaign in their communities and to suggest which congressmen needed more persuasion. Thus, for the first time ever, talk hosts began to coordinate their efforts on an issue.

And a political "ah-ha" was realized. As *New York Times* reporter E. J. Dionne described it, "Connected to each other by phone line and facsimile machine and linked to millions by the air waves, the talk jockeys proved they could generate an astonishing outpouring of protest."

How well did the network work? A caller to Ray Fox of WXYT in Detroit suggested that protesters send tea bags to their Congress members (*a la* the Boston Tea Party of 1775), and the idea was quickly disseminated across the country. Tea bags began showing up in the nation's Capitol. As Joe Klein of *New York* Magazine put it, "... a gaggle of radio talk show hosts ... rallied their listeners against the pay raise. They [along with consumer activist Ralph Nader] mounted the most effective lobbying campaign of the past decade — an effort that raised the daunting specter of radio populism on the rampage and talk hosts as the political organizers of the '90s."

In the end, of course, Congress voted down the pay raise.

Who led whom on this issue? Did talk hosts lead the public or merely provide a forum for an already upset audience?

Powerful members of Congress acknowledged the role of talk hosts. Democrat Tony Coelho of Merced, a former congressman who resigned in June but who at the time was majority whip of the House, said, "The talk-show hosts and Ralph Nader won this round." A Coelho aide, David Drier, was even more direct. "I don't fault the public," said Drier. "I fault the talk-show hosts for stirring up the public. Compared to what most talk-show hosts make, the proposed salary increase for congressmen was a pittance."

David Broder of the *Washington Post*, while lashing out at Congress' response to the controversy, also seemed to blame the radio hosts. "By knuckling under to the know-nothing demagoguery of their hometown radio talk-shows ...," Broder fumed, "ninety percent of the senators and representatives demonstrated again that they put the safety of their seats far ahead of the well-being of the Congress in which they serve."

Talk hosts, of course, denied they were stirring up the public. They argued that they channeled a public outcry that already existed. Whichever argument is correct, one thing had become clear: Talk shows had become a potential force in the political system.

Don Andrews, talk show producer at Sacramento's KFBK, argues (as do most of his brethren in the talk radio industry) that talk hosts don't have the ability to stir people to action. He contends that talk shows mainly mirror public opinion. "Talk shows are only a conduit. If [a political talk host] tried to generate interest in watchmaking he couldn't do it. The interest must be there."

Talk shows are both a new and an old phenomenon. In some ways, they are as old as the town-hall meeting of yore — albeit a slightly skewed version of it. The town-hall meeting is one of the most revered traditions of American direct democracy, its roots deep in the earliest days of American colonial experience. As first devised, the town-hall meeting was an annual conclave of the concerned adult citizens of a community, who came together to discuss and to decide local issues collectively, not through their local elected officials. At these meetings, anyone could speak, and all men present had the right to vote. One of the late Norman Rockwell's most famous *Saturday Evening Post* covers depicted a blue-collar worker addressing his fellow citizens (some of whom were obviously among the community elite) at just such a meeting.

Talk shows mirror the "open-mike" aspect of the town hall. Any listener, no matter what his or her social status, educational background or occupation, may phone in and, if lucky, be selected to speak with the host on the air. Even "voting" of sorts is permitted, such as when a station sets up telephone numbers for "yes" and "no" votes, then solicits listeners to phone in their preference on a given issue. Unlike town-hall meetings, the talk-show "poll" is not a binding vote. But an overwhelming response on one side of an issue may influence a local official or legislator who later is informed of the results. Call-in listeners do have one advantage over citizens attending town hall meetings: anonymity. Call-ins may espouse unpopular opinions without worrying about what their relatives or friends might think.

Talk and interview shows have been radio features since the industry's earliest days. However, open-mike formats — where listeners call in with questions or comments and join the show — have only been around for the past 20 years. They came about in the 1950s and '60s when AM radio stations specialized their programming to compete with television and with FM music and public radio stations. One of the specializations was an all-news format, with a substantial amount of air time dedicated to open-mike talk shows. Stations like them because they are relatively inexpensive to produce.

But like any programming, talk shows have spread through the radio industry because they are popular. Producer Don Andrews of Sacramento's all-news KFBK said that the talk format has become so popular that even some music stations have adopted an occasional talk program. As of mid-July 1989, the top-rated radio stations in both the San

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Francisco (KGO) and Sacramento (KFBK) markets were talk-dominated. Another indication of their popularity in American culture is the recent spate of movies and television programs dealing with talk radio, such as "Betrayed," "Talk Radio," "Kings and Desperate Men" and the TV series "Midnight Caller." In addition, various television clones have become

Limbaugh

Owens

popular: Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, Geraldo, Sally Jessie Raphael, Larry King and Morton Downey Jr.

Open-mike programs deal with a variety of subjects: medicine, physical fitness, religion, personal finance, sexual dysfunction, sports, restaurant reviews and — of course — politics. Ratings battles have encouraged their producers to increasingly focus on sexual and/or sensational topics as a means of generating larger audiences — interviews with child molesters, people who've undergone sex changes, lesbian ex-nuns, members of satanic cults, *ad nauseum*.

While the more sensational subject matter does little more than entertain audiences, when talk hosts turn their attention to politics, they may actually influence public policy because people who call in are a barometer of community opinion. As Boston talk host Jerry Williams commented, "[critics call the talk audience] yahoos, demagogues, nutcakes and nerds. You know who they're talking about? The United States of America. Not me, but people who call in. Why, who do you think they are? They're America."

Traditionally, talk audiences for daytime shows have not been typical of the population. Listeners tended to be retirees, housewives, swing-shift workers or small store owners. But in California, communication technology and gridlocked highways are changing talk-show demographics. Fax machines allow office workers and executives to communicate immediately with talk shows; their opinions and messages do not wait in the phone queue but are passed on to hosts as soon as they arrive. And as more and more commuters are trapped in cars for longer stretches of the commute day, they — armed with cellular telephones — become listeners and participants in far larger numbers than had been possible in the past.

While conservatives tend to listen to conservative broadcasters and liberals to liberal broadcasters, most talk shows do not try to screen out callers with views opposite to those of the host. Indeed, most call-in hosts welcome hearing from those with whom they disagree because it makes for controversy and clash. Thus, talk shows may not reflect overall public opinion as precisely as do polls, but they do reflect a significant segment of community attitude.

Like the population at large, talk hosts occupy most every niche on the political spectrum. Most are reasonably

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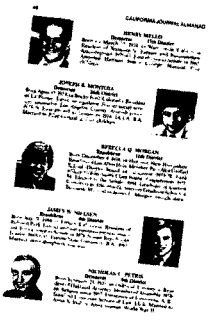

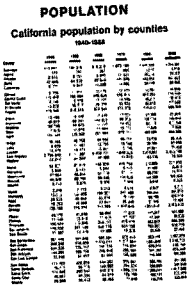

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bright, articulate, and knowledgeable about current affairs and the political process. Some conscientiously try to be objective and even-handed; others are highly partisan and dogmatic. Most treat their call-ins with respect, while a few are testy or cranky and become belligerent with callers who don't agree with them. And, some try to hype their ratings by making outrageous comments or by bullying call-ins.

The more outrageous are epitomized by conservative Rush Limbaugh, formerly with Sacramento's KFBK and currently a nationally-syndicated talk host originating from New York. Recently, Limbaugh demonstrated the power of talk shows when he offered to charter buses, fill them with homeless persons and ship them to the luxury seaside community of Malibu, near Los Angeles. Limbaugh's antic came in response to a declaration by Malibu's honorary mayor — actor and activist Martin Sheen — proclaiming Malibu a sanctuary for aliens and the homeless.

Lykis

Jackson

Limbaugh eventually dropped his offer, but not before hundreds of callers phoned his show to help charter the buses. In addition, Sheen was put on the defensive after the Malibu Chamber of Commerce raised a fuss. Thus Limbaugh had demonstrated what he called the emptiness of Sheen's offer.

Another conservative, whose show has a political impact throughout New England, is Boston's Jerry Williams. Williams' "conversations" with callers are spiced with comments like, "Sir, get lost! You are a jerk!" Or, "Thank you for your honesty, you hypocrite." Or, "Didn't I just tell you? Didn't you just hear me? I mean you really don't get it, do you? I've had it. I mean we're not communicating. You have a large problem." Or, "What you need is a seatbelt across your mouth. Maybe that would do it." Or, "You're full of bull. Right to your face, you're f.o.b., full of bull."

Williams, who has a large and loyal following, was instrumental in coordinating the nation's talk hosts to kill the Congressional pay raise, and also in helping to block a mandatory seat-belt law from being enacted in his native Massachusetts.

In California, virtually, every major (and some minor) city has a local radio talk show. Among the better-known political talk hosts are KGO (San Francisco) conservatives Jim Eason and Lee Rogers, moderate Ron Owens, and liberal Bernie Ward, who also has a show on Sacramento's KFBK; KSDO (San Diego) host Stacy Taylor; KABC (Los Angeles) hosts Michael Jackson and Ira Fistell; KFI's (Los Angeles) Tom Lykis who, when singer Cat Stevens endorsed the idea of assassinating "Satanic Verses" author Salmon Rushdie, hired a steamroller to publicly crush Stevens' records; and XTRA's (San Diego-Tijuana) Mark Williams, who has recently been replaced by ex-baseball player Steve Garvey. Even politicians have gotten into the act. Independent state Senator Quentin Kopp has a Sunday evening show on KGO in San Francisco. (Kopp takes a sabbatical during his election campaigns.) And in San Diego, former Mayor Roger Hedgecock has a show on KSDO. Hedgecock was bounced from office in 1985 in the wake of a conviction for receiving illegal campaign contributions.

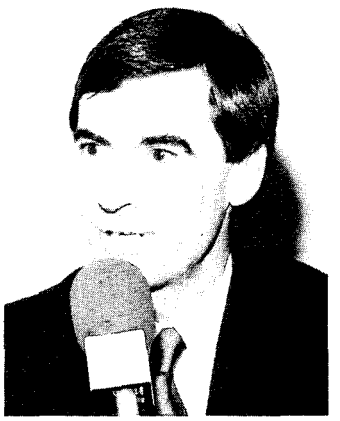
Most state legislators welcome the chance to appear as guests on talk shows because it's a good way to reach constituents. But now and then, a talk show appearance can hurt or embarrass a politician. For example, several months ago Republican state Senator Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park appeared on a talk show in Petaluma (KVON) where he said that the spread of AIDS was a form of God's wrath aimed at homosexuals. Nielsen's comments were quickly picked up by other radio and television stations, and the senator (a member of a Senate select committee on AIDS) was roundly criticized.

For the most part, legislative aides contacted for this story said that political talk shows do not significantly impact California government. Of course, there is no precise way to measure that impact since most constituents who call or write to legislative offices fail to mention how or why they were prompted to communicate. In addition, no state issue has galvanized the public as did the Congressional pay raise. In major population centers such as the San Francisco Bay area, Los Angeles, Orange County, San Diego and even Sacramento, political talk shows often focus on national or local concerns over state issues.

Besides, said KFBK's Don Andrews, most controversial state issues — abortion, animal rights, gun control — have sharply defined and conflicting constituencies, so opportunities for unified action are nil. Because of this, Andrews argued, talk shows serve mainly as forums for discussion and not as vehicles for change.

Talk shows may impact the state political system more than on partisan or controversial issues, however, especially where a governmental bureaucracy attempts to administratively hide an action or to move a matter through the process.

Kopp



Hedgecock

For example, in May 1989 the *San Jose Mercury News* reported that the state Legislature was paying life-insurance premiums for ex-legislators. KGO talk host Jim Eason told his listeners about the *Mercury* story and suggested that this was another example of Capitol sleaze. In the aftermath of Eason's show, many Bay Area legislative offices were called by irate KGO listeners complaining about the policies. According to Mike Thompson, aide to Democratic Assemblywoman Jackie Speier, the payments had been the result of a misunderstanding between insurance company officials and

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the Joint Rules Committee. The matter was resolved when the committee rescinded the policy. Assemblywoman Speier then asked Eason for air time to explain how the mistake had been made and what was done to correct it. Eason declined, saying the story was now "old news."

The life-insurance controversy shows how talk-show hosts can mobilize an audience over a local issue, albeit a small one. The success in stopping Congress' pay raise was national in scope, and following their success, some talk hosts expressed interest in meeting to discuss whether they might be able to cooperate on other issues. To this end, Jerry Williams invited talk hosts nationwide to Boston this past June to discuss matters of mutual concern.

"We're like radio politicians without having to run," Williams explained. "We're troublemakers ... a good muckraker is necessary in the United States, particularly muckrakers who are in touch with everyday folks. We've never had any respect. All of a sudden we're getting some visibility ... it was about time for us to come together and talk about what we could do together. It doesn't necessarily mean we have to agree on everything."

Not everyone was happy about the Boston conclave, however. James Quello, a member of the Federal Communications Commission, complained: "Local disk jockeys and talk show hosts are using serious national issues for audience-building." And Capital Cities/ABC forbade any of their talk hosts from attending Williams' meeting because they feared it might be interpreted as an attempt by the media to exercise power. However, Paul Bicknell, a Baltimore talk host, dismissed the fears. "Most of us are ex-D.J.'s," he said. "None of us are bright enough to set up a conspiracy."

Also, it may be difficult to meld a unified organization out of hosts who, by nature, are not usually regarded as quiet, unassuming individuals. They have strong egos.

Still, at their Boston meeting talk hosts agreed to form an association. But, not surprisingly, they could not agree on issues upon which they might focus. Talk hosts span the political spectrum, and the chance that they could agree to push certain issues seems remote. As KFBK's Andrews emphasized, for the most part, talk shows reflect existing public opinion and cannot simply decide which issues to promote and then order their listeners to march. "Talk hosts must go with the flow," he said. The congressional pay raise issue was unique because it spanned the political spectrum — conservative, moderate and liberal listeners were all upset. But it demonstrated that on bellweather issues and controversies, radio talk-show hosts can generate clout. Recently, some talk hosts encouraged their listeners to cut up their Exxon credit cards and mail them to corporate headquarters as a means of protesting the oil company's role in the *Exxon Valdez* spill. Exxon officials reported receiving over 10,000 destroyed credit cards in the protest effort. And this was not the coordinated work of Williams' talk-show network but a locally spontaneous outpouring.

The network — and talk-show — clout may show up most on issues where the views of a government elite differ markedly from those held by the public at large. In this arena, talk shows may be able to play an increasingly influential role. This influence, however, must be accompanied by a sense of responsibility that transcends demagoguery. If talk-show hosts aspire to greater influence, they should make an effort to present all sides of an issue, as well as treat callers who disagree with dignity, respect and civility. Given this responsibility, their shows may become invaluable in informing and educating the public about issues and the political processes.

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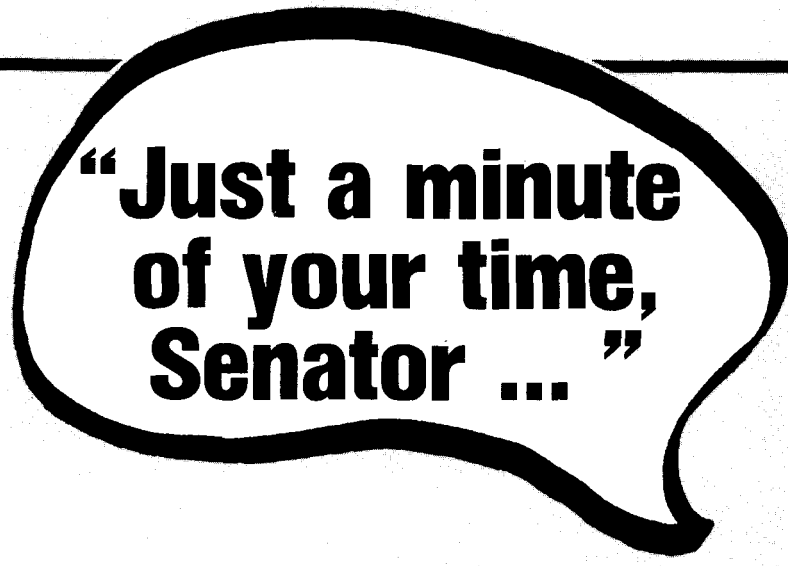

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Workfare

A long reach for the brass ring

By Mariana Talbot

When California's far-reaching welfare-reform bill passed in 1985, it capped two decades of reform efforts and was hailed as an historic rallying of liberal and conservative interests around a program that would serve as a model for the nation. The "welfare-to-work" program included in the bill would finally break the welfare cycle, promised bill proponents, and get recipients into productive jobs.

But it wasn't until April 1989 — nine months after a legislative deadline — that the last of the state's 58 counties finally implemented Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN). Millions of taxpayer dollars and countless work hours have been spent to start the most ambitious welfare-reform program of them all — the one that lawmakers on both sides of the aisle promised would help people leave the welfare rolls permanently and save the taxpayers money as well.

The premise of GAIN is simple: Don't just give welfare recipients money; instead, give them the skills they need to hold permanent jobs and stay off the public dole. Most people involved in running the program think that that premise is still sound. But the reality turned out to be a lot harder, and a lot more expensive, than most people thought.

GAIN promises to provide everything a welfare recipient needs to get started toward self-sufficiency, including remedial education, vocational training, community work experience, and supportive services such as child care, transportation and counseling. Counties were given unusual flexibility to design programs that would meet local labor market demands and welfare recipient needs.

With the advent of GAIN, welfare benefits have become, for the first time, a conditional entitlement rather than an unqualified right. If the offer of all these services isn't enough, county welfare departments have a stick to go along with the carrot. Welfare recipients — with the notable exception of mothers with children under age six — must participate or have a good reason why they don't. If they refuse, the county may punish them first by taking control of their welfare grants

Cartoon by Chris Van Overloop

Mariana Talbot is a former welfare recipient who prepared this story for the California Journal *while she was enrolled in the Coro fellowship program.*

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and, eventually, by cutting off their money altogether.

These threats notwithstanding, however, one of the theories behind GAIN is that most welfare recipients are eager to work and need only to be given the tools to do so and the self-confidence to use them. Thus the program focuses on building the self-esteem of participants — something that distinguishes GAIN from earlier welfare-to-work efforts. GAIN staff members are trained to treat participants in a respectful manner; for example by calling them "clients." After an initial assessment meeting, the client and GAIN case worker sign a contract that specifies the steps the client will take and services he or she will receive.

During the initial orientation, many counties give pep talks or show upbeat videos designed to inspire GAIN participants and bolster their self-esteem. Later activities have a similar emphasis on confidence-building. In Los Angeles, case managers introduce themselves by name instead of number, and participants are addressed respectfully by their last names. "We're trying to create an atmosphere of professionalism, to prepare them to handle the business world," says regional administrator Carol Roberto. In fact, 12 GAIN participants have been hired as clerks in the county GAIN office.

During the three-week "Job Club" workshop run by the Employment Development Department in San Francisco, participants not only receive job search and interviewing tips but also form an informal support group. "For a lot of them, all they need is a little motivation," says workshop facilitator Juanita Ashe. "Most of these people just stare at me blankly on the first day of the workshop when I ask what their short-term and long-term career goals are. A lot of them have never taken the time to think about themselves."

Another cornerstone of the program is allowing participants to make their own choices — something welfare recipients may not be used to, according to Pat Hendricks, GAIN director, Fresno. "We strongly believe that GAIN is a participant-driven program, and that the best chance for success lies in helping participants do what they want to do. The role of the caseworker is primarily to give them sensible information on the choices available to them."

Welfare recipients seemed to respond to the program's positive approach. In every major county, recipients showed up in huge numbers to volunteer for the program. This was true even for mothers with young children, who would otherwise be exempt. In Alameda County 4500 volunteered in January alone, and the recruitment effort was so successful that it had to be ended after only two months.

But even though over 150,000 people have been registered for GAIN since the program's inception, there are signs that participant enthusiasm may be waning. The number of welfare recipients volunteering for GAIN has slowed to a trickle, and those already enrolled in the program are dropping out in alarming numbers. Statewide, the no-show rate has topped 50 percent. In Los Angeles County, which has over one-third of the state's AFDC recipients, only a third of the 8300 GAIN registrants are actively involved in the program, according to GAIN director John Martinelli.

According to Kathy Lewis, program manager with the state Department of Social Services, there are lots of reasons why welfare recipients can't, or won't, participate. "Some people have deep personal problems that caused them to go on welfare in the first place. We can't expect everyone to react to this program like a middle-class person would. And others would like to participate but can't because of child-care or transportation problems."

Jack Stinson, who supervises GAIN contracts at the Fresno Department of Education, says that many immigrants fail to show up because of the language barrier or because they want to get a job instead of going to school. "Many teachers don't realize the personal problems that most of these students have. They move a lot, and they have financial problems, marital problems, and maybe severe emotional trauma if they're recent refugees."

The immigrants' frustration with the slow but necessary process of remedial education — which under GAIN regulations must be completed before moving on to the more sought-after vocational training — is shared by GAIN participants statewide. According to Jo Frederick, staff consultant to the joint legislative GAIN Oversight Committee, some participants have bad memories of their years in the school system and don't understand the importance of basic education and English-speaking skills if they are to compete for well-paying jobs. Many GAIN administrators are belatedly coming to agree with welfare advocates that to keep participants motivated, remedial education should be tied to job-related education and training.

The overwhelming need for basic education caught GAIN officials by surprise. About 60 percent of participants, it turns out, need some form of remedial schooling — not just the 20 percent initially predicted. Typical is the situation faced by Carol Roberto, GAIN administrator for one of Los Angeles County's five GAIN regions, who says that up to three-quarters of the participants in her region need either English-language training or basic education, or both.

But Roberto is impatient with welfare recipients who balk at the prospect of years of attending school before moving on to job training. "Most welfare recipients are very complacent. Their basic needs are met, and they have adjusted to their small budget. Telling a 40-year-old woman with an eighth-grade education that she needs to go back to school and find a job is not an idea she might readily accept."

Whatever the reasons that some welfare recipients can't or won't participate in GAIN, counties are faced with the task of enticing wayward participants to return to the fold. Reluctant to impose harsh and time-consuming punishments, counties are experimenting with creative ways to convince welfare recipients to stick with it. In San Francisco, where over two-thirds of GAIN participants don't show up for the initial orientation, caseworkers make personal visits to the homes of participants who don't respond to written communications. GAIN director Karen Pierce says, "My commitment is that we will have no sanctions. If deferral is not granted, the case manager has instructions to go out to the house and drag [the participant] down here."

Fred Gustafson, contract manager in Los Angeles County, says that the participation rate has approached 90 percent after aggressive tactics were adopted. For example, copies of written program evaluations from enthusiastic current participants are sent to foot-draggers, and case managers call with a reminder the day before appointments. Once the county gets them in the door, participants are shown a motivational videotape designed to keep them coming back.

But many GAIN participants and welfare rights advocates think that the high no-show rate is the symptom of an underlying problem that can't be cured with home visits. As long as participation is mandatory, they argue, welfare recipients will get the unmistakable message that they can't be trusted to make their own decisions.

Proponents of the mandatory aspect of GAIN have argued that welfare recipients should be treated like any other members of society — that is, within a system of mutual rights and obligations. Advocates agree, but point out that no other

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A history of welfare reform

Given the long-running and heated battle between conservative and liberal lawmakers in California over welfare reform — the former eager to add a work requirement and the latter just as determined to prevent it — the passage in California of the GAIN bill in 1985 seemed almost miraculous.

But, in fact, with the passage of GAIN the welfare-reform effort has come full circle in California. Fifteen years ago Governor Ronald Reagan tried to tighten welfare eligibility standards with a "workfare" program (in which aid recipients would "work off" their grants in public-service jobs). He failed, but his efforts sparked national interest.

The resulting reforms were an acknowledgement of a widespread sense of frustration with the existing welfare system that had been building for decades. The largest welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, had originally been set up in 1935 to enable a relatively small group of widows to stay at home with their children. But in the ensuing three decades, there was a vast increase in the welfare rolls, due in part to economic factors such as the mechanization of agriculture and the decrease in well-paying, unskilled jobs in the manufacturing sector. Another key influence was the War on Poverty, which resulted in more generous benefits and looser eligibility restrictions.

Because of these and other changes, by the late 1960s the face of AFDC had changed dramatically. The vast majority of AFDC recipients were now divorced or never-married women. A fierce public debate arose over whether welfare helped or hindered — or had even helped create — an "underclass" of citizens who seemed hopelessly mired in long-term welfare dependence. Beginning in 1968 welfare policy began explicitly encouraging recipients to work outside the home and become self-sufficient — a marked contrast to the program's original intent. In the two decades since, numerous job-training and work-experience programs have been implemented, most with mixed results at best.

The most well-known of these work-and-welfare efforts was Work Incentives (WIN), which was the first program to be required in all states. Mandatory for about one-third of all AFDC recipients, WIN promised to pay for job training and education, help participants find jobs, and offer support services such as child care and counseling. However, due to inadequate funding and staffing, an estimated two-thirds of those who registered for WIN in the two decades before its demise in 1987 never received any services, and the program failed to substantially diminish the welfare rolls.

Reform advocates got another change when Reagan, a staunch advocate of reform since his days as California governor, came to the White House in 1980. In 1981 Congress passed the Omnibus Reconciliation Act (OBRA), which tightened welfare benefits and eligibility and gave states greater leeway in setting up experimental work-and-welfare programs based on local needs and preferences. Thirty-eight states chose to set up some sort of work-and-welfare program.

Although it took California four years — and many bitter political struggles — to get on the reform bandwagon, the time was right in 1985. Since the early 1980s, the number of people on welfare had increased at twice the state's rate of general population growth, and AFDC costs had reached $1.6 billion by 1984. Governor George Deukmejian had been unsuccessfully pushing his own welfare program, only to be defeated each year in the Democrat-controlled Legislature.

But liberal Democrats, traditionally the most vocal opponents of work-and-welfare programs, had become increasingly sensitive to Republican claims that they supported a system that encouraged waste and laziness. Supporting the GAIN program, with its mandatory participation rules, helped Democrats eliminate much of the conservatives' potential campaign ammunition. At the same time, liberals managed to ensure that GAIN participants would be guaranteed services such as education, job training, child care and transportation.

Conservatives, on the other hand, were happy about the mandatory participation requirements, the "workfare" component, and the fact that they were finally *doing* something about the welfare mess. For Governor Deukmejian, long a supporter of workfare, the bill represented one of the highlights of his first three years in office, much of which had been hampered by the Democrats in the Legislature. For years, the efforts of conservative legislators had been effectively blocked by Assemblyman Tom Bates of Berkeley and Senator Maxine Waters of Los Angeles, both steadfast workfare opponents who controlled key committees.

In 1985, however, the political climate changed enough to allow a breakthrough. "The time was right," said Julia Lopez, former aide to then-Assemblyman Art Agnos and now general manager of the Department of Social Services in San Francisco. "Over the last eight years, a lot of serious research had helped fill in the gaps in welfare research. We could finally get past the sterotypes about 'welfare queens' and the political rhetoric and deal with the issues using hard facts."

Results from a 1982 pilot project in San Diego, which used the same carrot-and-stick philosophy later seen in GAIN, showed that a welfare-to-work program could be cost-effective and help at least some welfare recipients find jobs and leave the rolls.

Another turning point occurred in March, 1985, when Agnos and David Swoap, then director of Health and Human Services under Deukmejian and a key proponent of reform, embarked on a study tour of workfare programs in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and several other states. The trip helped open communication lines between the two sides. Following marathon negotiating sessions between a coalition of liberals and conservatives, AB 2580 worked its way through the Legislature, only to be threatened by a last-minute crisis over the addition by Democrats of a $134 million latch-key child-care bill. The measure survived, however, and was signed into law by Deukmejian in September, 1985.

— *Mariana Talbot*

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group in society is subjected to the humiliating punishment of having its income "managed" by the state if they don't perform certain activities. And no other group that receives money from government aid, such as foster parents or those on Social Security, is required to seek work in order to receive aid. "There's no justification for tying subsistence to an activity," says Casey McKeever of the Western Center on Law and Poverty.

Kathy Archuleta, GAIN director for Alameda County, responds that GAIN participants are protected from unjustified punishment by detailed GAIN regulations and a lengthy appeals process. In addition, the county hired an ombudsman to help clients clear up any problems with their contracts. "The ombudsman is a client advocate to ensure the system works for those whom it was designed to serve."

But welfare advocate Kevin Aslanian argues that the whole idea of a "contract" between participant and case worker is absurd. "A valid contract is between two equal parties, which is not the case in this situation. The welfare recipient is threatened with sanctions if she doesn't sign."

And the economic sanctions, while relatively rare, can have severe consequences for participants and their families. According to Casey McKeever, over 1000 families so far have had their aid reduced or terminated for non-compliance. "In January [1989] alone, there were 56 families that received no money for three months — a total of 150 children. The basic needs of these children were not being met for something that was no fault of their own. This is not justified."

Sandy Weiner of the Income Rights Project argues that GAIN should be based on a "free market system" instead of coercion. "That way, if the program isn't working, people can vote with their feet to force it to provide whatever has been promised. But if it's a mandatory program, in which participants can lose their subsistence if they don't play the game right, they're not going to complain as much, so the system can't correct itself."

Some GAIN administrators argue that the mandatory participation requirement is designed to help the participants themselves. "The program should be mandatory for everyone," says Karen Pierce in San Francisco. "If not, we're missing those people who most desperately need it, who don't understand that it will be disastrous when their last child turns 18 and they have to go off welfare."

But McKeever maintains that the state ought to have more faith in welfare recipients' willingness to act in their own self-interest. "It's not the good life, being a welfare recipient. To the extent a program really offers tangible results, and this is known within the community, I think you just don't need mandatory participation rules. Making the program voluntary would eliminate all of the resources that go into tracking down and sanctioning people. The whole process is just going through hoops that waste time and resources."

McKeever added, however, that the tangible benefits have to extend beyond the welfare system. "If there are no jobs available within the community, it may be hard to motivate people to participate in what is essentially a meaningless exercise to make politicians happy."

And indeed, one of GAIN's key promises — that welfare recipients would find jobs and permanently leave the welfare rolls — is still more fantasy than fact. Of the small percentage of participants who have moved beyond the education and training components and begun an active job hunt, relatively few have found jobs that pay well enough to leave the welfare rolls altogether. Of the roughly 38,000 participants who have found jobs so far, only slightly more than a quarter of those earned enough to be able to leave the welfare rolls. In addition, since many of those who found jobs were already job-hunting or in self-initiated job-training programs before ever enrolling in GAIN, there is no way to determine how many would have found jobs without GAIN's help.

Nor has enough time passed to know how many will be able to stay off the welfare rolls permanently — but the outlook so far is not encouraging. In most counties, the average starting wage for GAIN participants is a paltry four to five dollars an hour. In contrast, by some estimates a single mother of two would have to earn over nine dollars an hour in order to reach the same standard of living achieved from her welfare grant, food stamps and medical benefits.

In Central Valley counties, where the agriculture-based economy experiences seasonal swings and unemployment can reach 15 percent, the prospects for long-term independence from welfare are even worse. *The Fresno Bee*, for example, reported that the average starting wage was four dollars an hour, and for every successfully employed GAIN participant, there were thirty who didn't make it.

And even counties with more stable economies have cause to worry. In San Francisco and many other urban counties, the labor market surveys show that most new jobs will be in the service sector, with an estimated entry-level wage of around five dollars an hour.

Matters are further complicated by the fact that welfare recipients tend to move from county to county more often than the general population, according to a new legislative report. The new information raises questions about the effectiveness of GAIN's current structure, in which job training is tailored to each county's labor market.

Some GAIN observers think that the slim likelihood of welfare recipients finding well-paying jobs is even further diminished by the two-year time limit on higher education allowed participants. According to welfare rights advocate Sandy Weiner, participants enrolled in four-year colleges who have more than two years of college left may have to quit, even if they have a full scholarship, in order to keep their welfare benefits. "These people are being penalized for taking the initiative of trying to become truly self-sufficient," she says.

However, some GAIN administrators argue that the picture isn't that bleak. Carol Roberto in Los Angeles says that participants can study for one of 89 job categories that a labor market survey has determined will enable self-sufficiency at the end of the two-year training period. "The participant has a lot of choices; it just has to be do-able within two years," says Roberto. In the field of nursing, for example, participants can go through the two-year program to become licensed vocational nurses and work toward the four-year nursing degree on their own after leaving GAIN. In addition, says Roberto, GAIN will help participants apply for educational grants and find other ways to continue their education.

But even assuming that participants get the education they need, many observers wonder whether sufficient jobs exist for the state's 600,000 welfare recipients. Jack Stinson of the Fresno County Department of Education laments: "The good thing about GAIN is that people are being moved forward in a positive manner, They're getting back into the swing of life, not just sitting home watching television. But I wish there were more jobs waiting at the end of the rainbow. I think a lot of people are in for some disappointment."

Advocate Casey McKeever sums up the problem faced by GAIN participants statewide: "GAIN can train people to work, but it can't change the labor market."

Meanwhile, there are other problems to contend with. Many counties face the challenge of serving a welfare popu-

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lation that contains half a dozen or more non-English-speaking immigrant groups, including Latinos, Chinese, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians. Alameda County, for example, is still searching for the best way to serve its mix of second-generation welfare recipients and recently immigrated refugees.

According to Sylvia Isabel, the county's GAIN publicist, "Most people in GAIN in this county are Black single moms. But of the families, a majority are refugee families. Refugees have a very different culture and very different needs in a program like GAIN, such a big need for English as a second language."

In Fresno where nearly 80 percent of the county's 28,000 Southeast Asian refugees receive some form of public assistance, many transplanted members of the Hmong tribe, which has no written language of its own, face years of tutoring before they can speak and write English well enough to move into job training.

Many counties have responded to the challenges of serving a multi-cultural population by hiring bilingual staff, printing materials in several languages and giving special training to their staffs to increase cultural awareness. In Fresno, forms are available in several languages, and separate GAIN orientations are held for Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong, conducted by bilingual staff. Of the 14 GAIN staff, four are Southeast Asians.

Meanwhile, other problems loom on the horizon. For example, although GAIN participants' requests for subsidized child care have not yet resulted in the shortages feared by some GAIN observers, some advocates fear that as more participants move into the later stages of job training and work experience, the demand for child care will overburden meager existing resources.

Certain urban areas, where child care was scarce even before the advent of GAIN, may be especially hard hit. For example, according to the Children's Council of San Francisco, six thousand parents are on a waiting list for subsidized child care in the county. Last year, 11 percent of calls to the council's switchboard were from welfare recipients who had the opportunity for training or work but needed child care.

Statewide, the situation will only grow worse after the federal welfare-to-work bill is phased in next year. The new program, which lowers the mandatory participation threshold to parents with no children below three years, is expected to increase the GAIN caseload by about 25 percent, with most of the new participants requiring child care.

As with most other state-funded programs, one central worry underlies all of these administrative concerns: Will GAIN consistently receive the money it needs to keep its promises? So far, the answer seems to be "no." After four years of fluctuating funding levels and last minute budget cuts, many GAIN administrators at the county level are fed up.

In Los Angeles, GAIN director John Martinelli says the county "was hurt significantly" by last year's budget cuts. As a result, the county will have to limit the number of volunteers and focus diminishing resources on those recipients who have received aid for three or more years, following the revised budget priorities issued by the state Legislature last year.

In Alameda County, which has been forced to indefinite-

LA's Maximus controversy

One of the biggest controversies in GAIN has been the long-running battle over the decision of Los Angeles County last year to enter into a $7.8 million contract with a private firm, Maximus, to supervise GAIN participants' progress.

The decision provoked an immediate outcry from county employees and several members of the state Legislature. Opponents charge that case management involves making extremely subjective and personal decisions about GAIN participants that can directly affect those persons' incomes, and for these reasons should be performed only by trained GAIN staff in the Department of Soial Services.

Los Angeles County officials respond that case workers for Maximus will be nothing more than "resource brokers" for participants. "The contract is set up so there is no discretionary decision-making," says John Martinelli, county GAIN director. "Decisions rest on participant choice, not case-worker choice. Case workers are required to adhere strictly to state requirements and county social service department procedures," he added, holding up an enormous case-workers' instruction manual to underscore his point.

But opponents argue that this weighty manual actually symbolizes the problem, not the solution. "If a client asks the case manager a question, the case manager turns to a page and gives her a list of choices, and the client just points to the one she wants," says Maura Keely, a representative with the Service Employees International Union. "After all, it would be 'discretionary' if the case manager gave advice and discussed the options like a human being. It's a Catch-22; if case managers don't provide discretionary services, they aren't providing true case-management services to their clients. If they are, then they are lying about their true function."

At first, state officials sided with those who opposed the contract. But the Deukmejian administration and the county eventually reached a compromise in which private case workers must strictly follow the written manual, and county workers must handle any appeals filed by a welfare recipient. The final contract was for three years, with the option to extend to five years.

But the battle isn't over yet. Senator Bill Greene, a Los Angeles Democrat who holds a powerful position on the Senate budget committee, was so angered by the decision that he threatened to hold up the county's welfare budget until Maximus was removed from case management. This Spring, Democrats on both the Senate and Assembly budget committees came up with complicated legislative maneuvers designed to leave Maximus unfunded, but the governor used his line-item veto powers for the second year in a row to make an end run around them.

Opponents within both the Legislature and the public-employees union vow to continue the fight against Maximus. The outcome of the controversy will be closely watched, since Los Angeles contains over one-third of the state's AFDC recipients and is seen as a precedent-setter for the rest of the state.

— Mariana Talbot

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ly delay the opening of a south-county office, GAIN Director Kathy Archuleta expressed a frustration shared by many. "It's a real challenge to implement a program without a stable funding source. Given the current funding climate, it's almost impossible to plan a smooth build-up of the program."

Counties have responded by slowing down their implementation process and turning away GAIN volunteers. In San Francisco and Fresno, some services, such as job training and vocational assessment, will be brought in-house in an effort to cut the costs of contracting out these services. And counties in both the Bay Area and the Central Valley have tried to deal with the lean times by joining together to share ideas and resources.

Some welfare-rights advocates view the budget cuts as final proof that the state isn't willing to back its promises with cold cash. "The state is not willing to spend the money necessary to really get people out of poverty," said Barbara Nabors-Glass of the Income Rights Project. "I think the taxpayers are willing to spend the necessary money, but the state, as usual, is too timid or cynical to fully commit the necessary resources."

The most recent budget has garnered mixed reactions. The $353 million GAIN budget originally submitted by the governor this Spring was $15 million less than for the previous year, and government analysts had estimated that the amount was about $65 million less than what was needed to run the program without cutting participants from the rolls.

The governor restored some funds at the last minute, and some analysts think that given a recent drop in the AFDC caseload, the program may now close to full funding. Many GAIN administrators at the county level, however, are skeptical of that claim.

Budget woes aside, will GAIN be the welfare program that finally works? Four years after the legislation was passed, the jury is still out. Both proponents and opponents of the program agree that GAIN is not a panacea for all of the problems associated with poverty. It cannot address the need for a better educational system, for example, or alleviate drug abuse, mental illness and other problems that prevent people from working.

Some feel that GAIN is doomed to fail because it tries to address the effects of poverty instead of the causes. "The GAIN rhetoric doesn't distinguish between reducing the welfare rolls and reducing poverty," says Casey McKeever of the Western Center on Law and Poverty. "It's assumed that the problem is with the individuals on welfare, and not with poverty itself. Larger issues such as the changing labor market, or conditions of the economy, are ignored."

Many observers are withholding final judgment of GAIN until an outside evaluation is completed in 1992. And it is yet to be seen whether the program will eventually save the state money, although most observers privately predict that it won't.

Meanwhile, the watchword is cautious optimism. "I hope the political [will] will remain long enough for the program to prove itself, because ultimately it will succeed," says John Martinelli in Los Angeles. "But we see the funding starting to dwindle already. If this program fails, it will be because of lack of funding — and that won't be the first time that's happened."

In any case, though, the forces that gave birth to GAIN seem here to stay. The federal welfare-reform bill will go into effect next year, ensuring that some form of welfare-to-work program will be in place in California for many years to come.

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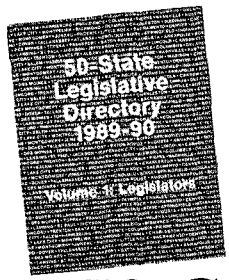

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The Presidio sits astride San Francisco Bay, a prime location that will transfer to the National Park Service once the U.S. Army moves out.

SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES

The problem of closing military bases

By Steve Pressman

Except for the fact that they represent the same geographic region, California Congressmen George Brown Jr. and Jerry Lewis normally share little in common when it comes to political matters. On most issues of foreign or domestic policy, Brown — the liberal Democrat from Riverside — rarely agrees with Lewis — a conservative Republican from nearby Redlands.

But when an independent federal commission — the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure — late last year recommended that 86 military bases be shut down around the country, Brown and Lewis suddenly became political Siamese twins. The reason: Included among bases targeted for closure were two Air Force installations — George and Norton — located smack dab in the backyards of the two House members. Brown immediately introduced a measure to block the base closings, and Lewis vowed to use other legislative tactics to derail the commission's work.

The two Inland Empire politicians weren't alone among Californians up in arms over Congress' effort to close down military bases. When San Francisco's historic Army base, the Presidio, also made the base-closing list, Bay Area Democratic House members Barbara Boxer and Nancy Pelosi immediately launched a vigorous campaign to remove the scenic Sixth Army headquarters site from the Pentagon's chopping block.

However, from the beginning, the odds were against the Californians (and colleagues from other parts of the country) preventing local bases from shutting down. Aware that parochial interests often torpedo the best intentions, Congress crafted an all-or-nothing approach to the politically sensitive issue. When the dust settled, disgruntled lawmakers confronted with base closings in their states and districts were far outnumbered by legislators who were spared any local pain in the program to eliminate unnecessary bases. And since the package was accepted or rejected *en masse*, there was no room for negotiation over individual bases.

With 20-year defense savings estimated at $5.6 billion, Lewis says members of Congress from unaffected areas were free to "beat their breast and talk about how they're cutting defense spending" without upsetting local interests. As for the others, they were isolated as a tiny minority on Capitol Hill without much power to upset the commission's work.

Without question, California took a heavy hit when the recommended base closures went into effect. An analysis of the commission's report prepared by Brown's office found that related military and civilian job losses in

Steven Pressman is a freelance writer in San Francisco.

Presidio photos by Rich Pedroncelli

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the state would add up to 83 percent of the total number of lost jobs around the country. Brown and Lewis are particularly upset because San Bernardino County, where both George and Norton Air Force Bases are located, will be especially hard hit by the closings of those two installations.

"I have an interest in this issue because if my county were a state, then my state would be impacted more than any other state in the country," says Lewis. Not all of the bases included on the closure list came as a surprise to lawmakers like Lewis. "Others, however, seemingly were just thrown up against the wall to see if they would stick," he says. "I put George in that category."

In San Francisco, Mayor Art Agnos joined forces with Boxer and Pelosi to mount an aggressive — albeit, fruitless — lobbying campaign to keep the Presidio in military hands. First used as a fortification by the Spanish in 1776, the Presidio currently occupies 1440 acres of prime real estate poised dramatically on the northwest tip of the city, where the Pacific Ocean swells into San Francisco Bay beneath the Golden Gate Bridge. Those who want to preserve its status as an Army base stress the importance of its Letterman Hospital and the medical services provided to thousands of veterans and their families. In addition, Pelosi points out that the Sixth Army — now scheduled to relocate to Fort Carson, Colorado — represents the first line of defense in the event of a catastrophic Bay Area earthquake.

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Without question, California took a heavy hit.

In an effort to undermine the tax-saving argument for shutting down unneeded military bases, Boxer and Pelosi also tried to insist that closing the Presidio would actually cost the federal government millions of dollars. Under federal legislation engineered years ago by the late Congressman Philip Burton, virtually all of the Presidio's picturesque grounds must be turned over to the Interior Department as federal parkland if the military moves out. Burton wanted to ensure that the area remained within the Golden Gate National Recreation Area rather than wind up in the hands of a developer who might be tempted to build high-rise condominiums on a coveted piece of real estate.

But with federal budgets stretched to the breaking point, opponents of the Presidio's closure are worried that the Interior Department won't have the money to maintain the base as part of the national park system. Figures compiled by Boxer and Pelosi show that the expected annual savings from closing the base — slightly more than $26 million — would be wiped out by more than $52 million in annual costs associated with closing it down and maintaining it as a park. The result: a yearly taxpayer bill of $26.3 million for a transaction that was supposed to save money.

Pelosi argued that the Interior Department cannot afford the Presidio, but the Pentagon can. She also saw nothing inconsistent with taking that position while also criticizing high Pentagon spending levels. "This is the most benign military money that you can spend," says Pelosi. "We've never said we didn't want to spend any money for defense."

The Presidio wasn't San Francisco's only hit; the city also lost Hunter's Point shipyard as a home-porting facility for Navy vessels, including the battleship *U.S.S. Missouri*. Losing the *Missouri* did not bring the universal angst generated by loss of the Presidio, however, mainly because the city was closely divided on the issue. Home-porting the *Missouri* had been the subject of a city-wide initiative in 1988. It narrowly passed despite opposition from Mayor Agnos. Home-porting had been the special project of Agnos' predecessor — Dianne Feinstein. Losing the other ships from Hunter's Point will hurt the city, a point acknowledged by Agnos, who opposed the Navy's business deal on the *Missouri* and not the ship itself. The ships will be dispersed to home ports in Long Beach and Hawaii.

Others viewed the base-closing issue in a different light. Congressman Robert Matsui, a Sacramento Democrat, represents a district slated to lose Mather Air Force Base, along with its 3000 military and civilian personnel. Nonetheless, he did not join with other Californians in Congress who tried to block the base closings.

"We can't have it both ways. We can't say that we want to cut the defense budget, but not if it's in my district," says Matsui. Mather had been considered for closure even before the base-closing commission was formed, so its appearance on the current hit list did not surprise very many in the Sacramento area.

Rarely known for its unity on political issues involving California interests, the state's large congressional delegation acted no differently when it came to the base closings. Staff members had met to discuss common problems when the list of closings first made the rounds last December and January. "But we have never agreed that we would make a concerted effort to fight this because we're divided on it," says Matsui.

Lewis, along with GOP Senator Pete Wilson, also thought about using Congress' budget-appropriations process to protect some or all bases in the state. Because the Pentagon requires money in its budget to begin closing down bases, Lewis planned to place restrictions or conditions on the use of tax dollars for that purpose. That tactic, too, failed.

Once the base closings actually begin, critical decisions will revolve around what happens to the land after the military marches away. Chances are that Air Force bases like Mather, Norton and George will continue to serve some kind of civilian aviation function because of existing runways and other air-related facilities. In Sacramento, there has been talk of shutting down the

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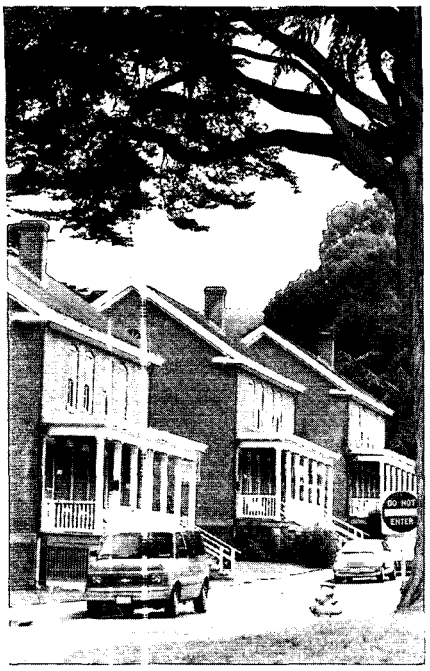

Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan suggested housing the homeless in these Presidio barracks.

small Executive Airport near downtown and shifting some services to Mather, located near suburban Rancho Cordova. United Parcel Service is considering Norton's facilities as a base for its freight services, according to local officials involved in a base-conversion plan.

Officially, local government agencies in San Bernardino County support congressional efforts to keep Norton and George intact. But groups composed of local officials, retired military personnel and others already are drawing up plans for the use of each base and are working under the assumption that the Air Force bases will shut down. "We're trying to be positive, thinking that it's not gloom and doom if they do close," says Lauren Wasserman, who is coordinating the county's base conversion plans.

Likely uses for the bases, in addition to air services, include industrial development and recreational services. Both George and Norton have swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses and other recreational facilities that eventually might fall into the county's hands. Wasserman says a final planning document will be completed for each base by the end of 1989 or early in 1990. But he does not expect total agreement on recommended uses for the military sites. "Obviously, we have people living in the flight path now who would prefer to see no more aviation in the area. And I'm sure we'll be hearing from them," he says.

San Francisco has been awash in ideas about what to do with the Presidio. Robert Corrigan, the recently-installed president of San Francisco State University, wasted no time making a pitch to expand his campus into the area. Corrigan says the current campus has become too crowded, and that the Presidio would provide a perfect setting for an "educational park" that might include research institutes, athletic facilities, a performing-arts center and other features.

Several local officials in San Francisco, meanwhile, were distressed after hearing that Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan raised the possibility of sheltering some of the city's homeless in Presidio structures. Lujan told the *San Francisco Examiner* that he might consider non-park uses for the Presidio, which could include shelter for the homeless. A 1988 federal law known as the McKinney Homeless Act requires that "unused" or "under-utilized" federal property be made available as housing for the homeless. But Pelosi has obtained an opinion by congressional legal experts in an effort to circumvent that requirement. The opinion suggests that the Presidio would not be considered unused or under-utilized if the Army base closed because it would then automatically become part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

Bubbling into the debate over the future of military bases in California is a serious environmental question that could take years — and millions of dollars — to answer. Along with closing some of the bases comes the perplexing job of cleaning up hazardous toxic wastes created and left behind by the military.

Mather, for example, had been using chemical solvents and other toxic materials as part of the base's aviation-maintenance operations. Dumped into ditches, the toxic waste has seeped into the groundwater and required the Air Force to supply clean drinking water to nearby residents. The base-closing legislation makes it clear that the Pentagon is responsible for cleaning up environmental waste, but no one knows for sure how long that will take or even whether the technology exists to eliminate completely the dangerous residues.

"Frankly, that's going to be the big problem," says Matsui. He and others worry about a scenario in which former bases turn into abandoned property because of dangerous environmental hazards. "My fear in all of this," says Matsui, in what could prove to be a major understatement, "is that it could make the land where the toxics exist somewhat unmarketable."

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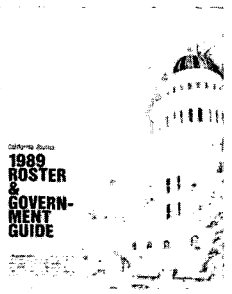

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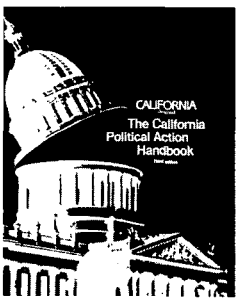

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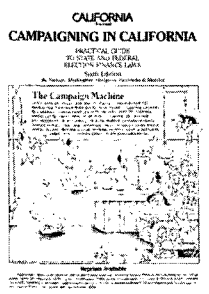

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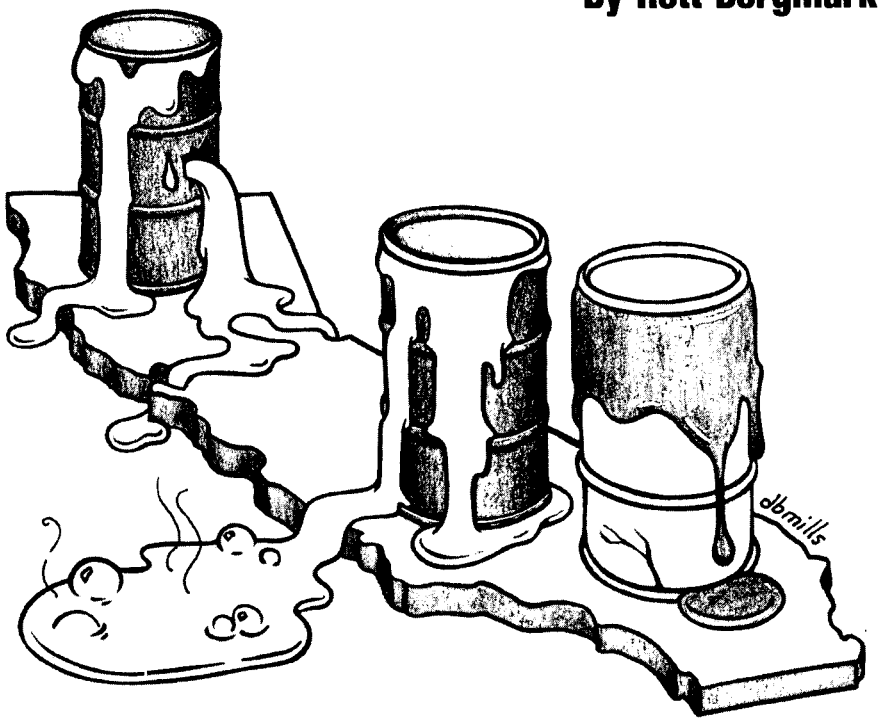
Where do we dispose of hazardous waste?

By Rett Bergmark



Drawing by Diane B. Mills

For the past five years, the California Legislature has been trying to figure out what to do with the three million tons of hazardous waste created each year in California factories, power plants and private businesses. Not quite half is treated and stored where it was made. But some 1.7 million tons have to be dumped somewhere — and the number of places that will take it are increasingly scarce.

Not suprisingly, hardly anyone is anxious to live near one of these disposal facilities, known as Class I disposal sites because they will take the worst kinds of waste. And with good reason: Their history has not been a good one. They leak and foul local water supplies. Nearby residents claim they have been harmed by toxic fumes. Once they are closed, fights break out over who is responsible for problems, and the state and federal government expects to spend billions of dollars to clean them up.

But in the absence of some cheap, efficient way to get rid of the stuff, the state's lawmakers, prodded by the industries that create the waste, remain convinced that new disposal sites still must be found. Just two Class I sites remain open, and local-government agencies have consistenly turned down requests for new sites.

As part of a compromise made with waste-producing firms, members of the Legislature, at the urging of Assemblywoman Sally Tanner — an El Monte Democrat who heads the Environmental Safety and Toxic Materials Committee — passed a bill they thought would force counties to come to grips with the problem and find a place to dispose of the wastes generated by industry. They were wrong. Despite Tanner's legislation, counties and the state remain in a virtual stalemate over how to handle the toxic substances. As a result, no new disposal sites are under consideration anywhere in California.

California industries complain that without new sites, there will soon be no place to dispose of the hazardous chemicals that are a by-product of manufacturing. The largest amount is created by the petroleum industry. Ten years ago there were 11 Class I sites in the state. Currently, California has only two Class I facilities capable of disposing of all forms of toxic waste, one in the Kettleman Hills and the other in Casmalia. These dispose of 60 percent of California's total hazardous waste. Eleven treatment centers and 63 recycling facilities account for 36 percent of the total amount of waste managed in California. The remainder is transported to sites in Idaho, Utah, Texas and Kansas.

Industry attempts to build new dumps have been blocked by local governments, who maintain a "Not In My Backyard," or NIMBY, attitude toward hazardous waste. The rural areas of the state — the most likely location for such facilities — chafe at the idea of taking waste from urban areas like Los Angeles.

Originally, these industrial concerns wanted the state to step in and

Rett Bergmark is a California Journal *intern.*

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create disposal sites. But resistance by local agencies, jealously guarding their perogatives to make land-use decisions, made this impossible. Instead, the state turned the task back to the locals, saying they had to develop plans for waste disposal that included, in almost all cases, approving areas that could be potential hazardous-waste sites.

But the process broke down almost immediately. The state Department of Health Services, which is charged with administering the law and approving the local plans, expected that each county would designate large tracts of land as potentially available for hazardous waste disposal — only heavily populated areas and those of special environmental quality would be excluded.

Instead, the counties took a much narrower approach. They gave approval only to very small sites, big enough to handle their own wastes but too small to take wastes from other counties — and too small to be economically attractive to any waste-disposal firm, which counts on high volume to make these high-cost businesses profitable.

The state had never intended that the law would encourage the creation of 58 small disposal sites, one for each of California's counties. Instead, it envisioned that once possible sites were identified, several larger facilities could be constructed to serve the entire state.

According to Alex Cunningham, chief deputy director of DHS's Toxic Control Division, "The basic argument in this whole process is that they [counties] see the guidelines as a ceiling, so that counties will handle their waste and only their own waste. We see the guidelines as a floor, where the counties will handle at least their own waste."

Using this approach, all of the counties submitted draft plans and all were rejected by the Department of Health Services. So far, Kern County is the only one to submit a final plan and that, too, has been rejected.

Kern officials remain adamant. Kern County planner Mel Kraus insists that "Kern will not revise its plan in order to suit DHS but simply justify the policies we had in our plan." Kern, like many of the counties submitting plans, refuses to "oversite" facilities according to DHS' standards. Counties such as Kern contend that they are willing and capable of developing facilities that will satisfy only their county's own needs.

To assist counties such as Kern in their fight with Health Services, the County Supervisors Association of California (CSAC) has stepped in to help solidify the counties' position and adopt common resolutions which include the counties' interpretation of the term "fair share" written into the law. According to a CSAC memo to the counties, "If the county has approved the siting of a facility or facilities that have a capacity equal to or in excess of the county's fair share of hazardous-waste management needs, the county ... cannot be forced to accept the siting of additional facilities." This became the position held by a majority of the counties.

Health Services says it will stick by its position and disapprove of plans that do not meet its interpretation of the law. This stance could lead to a Pyrrhic Victory, since the law provides sanctions for those counties that do not submit plans but does not provide a penalty for counties whose plans are in but not acceptable.

For the moment, Assemblywoman Tanner says she is content to see the drama play itself out. The last of the final plans are not due until November of this year. She gives no hint of her approach should counties continue to be recalcitrant.

Health Services officials are still hopeful that counties can be cajoled into complying with what they see as the law's intent. "We would like to be able to use the counties as a vehicle, rather than an obstacle for this," said Robin Reynolds of the department's alternative-technologies division.

But the counties seem determined to resist. Kern County's Kraus notes that his county has already hired a lawyer "just in case we have to play hardball." Kings County Supervisor Les Brown was more blunt. The state law "is not going to change anything."

If the situation remains unchanged, California will have wasted more than $10 million on a futile attempt to get some local agency to agree to a hazardous waste site. The hopes for a quick and effective resolution seem to be diminishing. Neither the Department of Health Services nor the counties appear capable of finding common ground in this matter and both sides resolve that they will stand firm on their positions.

In the meantime, pressures continue on the state to find new ways of disposing of hazardous waste. Calls are already out by local residents to close Casmalia. And the clean-up of existing sites has been hampered by the fact that there is no place to dispose of material from these facilities — most often dirt that has been contaminated by chemicals — which also have to be sent to hazardous-waste disposal sites.

Environmental groups, which have sided with the counties, are not too unhappy with the impasse. As they see it, the longer the delay to find new disposal facilities, and the more expensive land disposal becomes, the more likely industry is to turn to alternative technologies for the reduction of hazardous materials. This, they believe, is the direction the state should have been moving in the first place.

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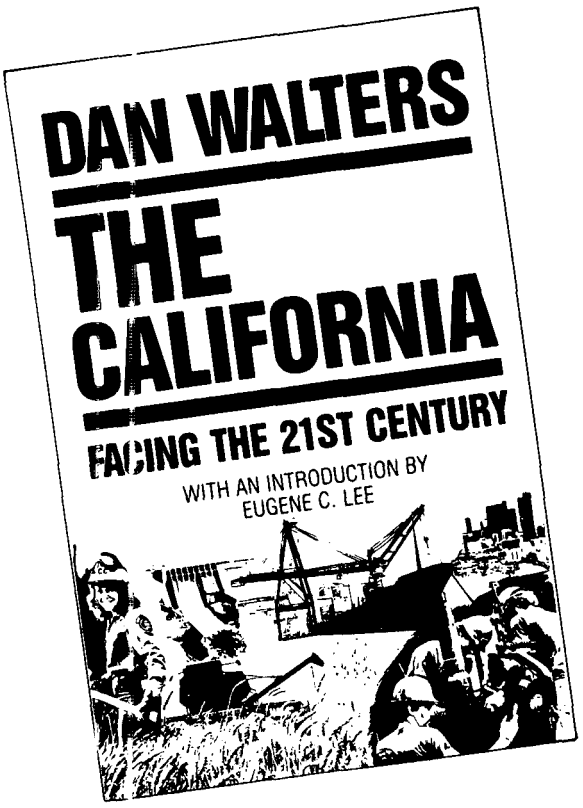

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Cranston's troubles

"Those who know me," said Senator Alan Cranston, "know that I have gone to bat for literally hundreds of thousands of individuals and businesses in California that have never contributed a dime to me or the causes I support."

CRANSTON WAS REFERRING TO THE PERFECTLY respectable meat-and-potatoes business of politics that members of Congress call "constituent services" — helping voters cut through federal red tape to get a stalled Social Security check, a disaster loan or an appointment to one of the military academies. As the senior senator from the largest state, Cranston (or, more accurately, the aides and interns on his staff) has provided such bureaucratic assistance to hundreds of thousands of Californians. But one of the touchiest questions of the Democratic senator's career has become whether, as he contends, he was merely providing "constituent services" when he went to bat for Charles Keating Jr.

Strictly speaking, Keating is not even one of Cranston's constituents. The high-flying former savings-and-loan tycoon lives and votes in Arizona. But it turns out that Keating has shoveled close to a million bucks into Cranston's political campaigns and pet causes. And Cranston performed services for his patron that went beyond expediting a welfare check or sending a form letter to a bureaucrat.

The existence of the Cranston-Keating connection has been on the public record for several years. As noted in this column previously, Cranston and four other senators attempted in 1987 to intervene with federal regulators who were investigating the unorthodox investments of Keating's Lincoln Savings and Loan in Irvine. In April of this year, federal regulators seized the S&L the day after its parent company filed for bankruptcy protection. It has also been known for months that Keating and his associates have given at least $49,000 to Cranston's political campaigns over the years.

But the story became far more remarkable in July when it was revealed that Keating, at Cranston's urging, had given at least $850,000 to voter-registration efforts that the senator calls "one of the major driving forces in my life."

The embarrassingly huge dimensions of Keating's kindness to Cranston has put a dark cloud over the senator's vow to seek a fifth term in the Senate in 1992, when he will be 78 years old.

Faced with the revelation that Keating was the secret sugar daddy of Cranston's voter registration crusade, the senator and his staff escalated their efforts at damage control. Cranston issued a four-page statement in which he denied any lapses of integrity or ethics — but bluntly confessed to dumbness.

"There was nothing improper in any of my contacts with Charles Keating," said Cranston. But the Senate Democratic whip, who is known for his political acumen, added, "Looking back from the view of the current climate, I did do a pretty stupid thing, politically."

The heart of Cranston's argument is that his motives were pure. The senator said he hit up the savings-and-loan tycoon to help "non-partisan voter education and registration drives .... None of these funds went to me, personally or politically."

Nonetheless, the benefits may have gone overwhelmingly to Cranston and his party. Even ostensibly "non-partisan" voter registration drives, which qualify for tax-exempt status, can be targeted to neighborhoods where they are far more likely to register new voters for one party than another. Republican-inspired voter-registration drives don't normally set up tables in urban ghettos; nor do Democratic-connected drives canvass every subdivision in conservative suburbs.

Back in 1986 Keating gave $85,000 to an openly-partisan voter-registration drive run by the California Democratic Party. That effort was instrumental in winning re-election for Cranston. The senator has said he has no recollection of soliciting that early contribution from Keating.

The later contributions that Cranston acknowledged soliciting from Keating, in 1987 and 1988, went to "non-partisan" drives with some obvious partisan connections. Keating gave $400,000 to an organization headed by Cranston's politically ambitious son, Kim. Another of the organizations reportedly channeled much of its money to a voter-registration effort run by Marshall Ganz who was the architect of the Democratic registration drive of 1986.

Although Cranston is on the political hot seat these days, California's Republican Senator Pete Wilson has also provided a vivid example of the fine line between "constituent services" and political string-pulling. Wilson — or at least his autograph — became a footnote in the influence-peddling scandal at the Department of Housing and Urban Development when the *New York Times* unearthed a letter with the senator's signature. The letter to then-HUD Secretary Samuel Pierce urged "speedy evaluation" of a stalled federal housing development being promoted by Robert Weinberger, the politically active nephew of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

WILSON, THE GOP'S LEADING CONTENDER for governor in 1990, said the letter was written without his knowledge by an aide and signed by an autopen — a machine that politicians use to reproduce their signatures on routine correspondence. On the other hand, Wilson asserted, "That letter is one I very likely would have sent, if I had been apprised of it, anyway."

It was, Wilson maintained, just another example of a constituent service. Unlike Keating, Weinberger is a Californian. But the embarrassing catch was that Wilson's name went out on a letter promoting a housing project in Minnesota — at a time when there were plenty of California developments competing for scarce HUD funds.

Larry Liebert is Washington Bureau Chief of the San Francisco Chronicle.

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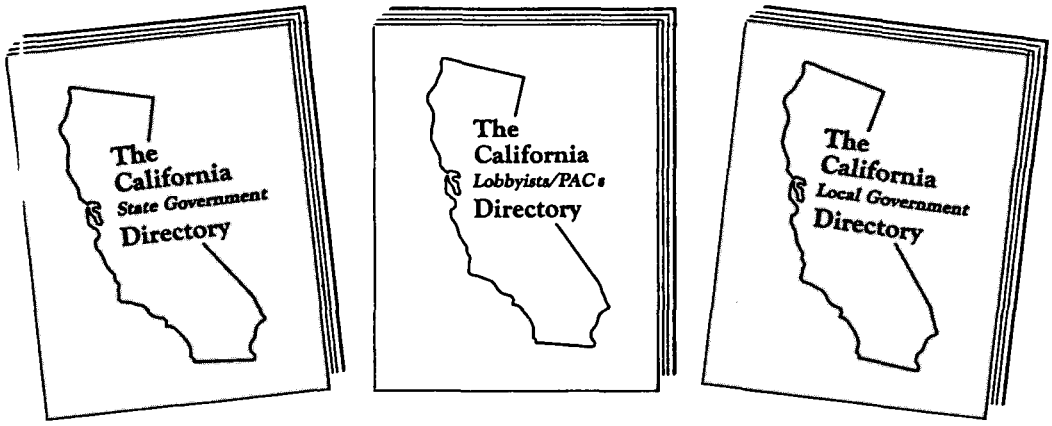
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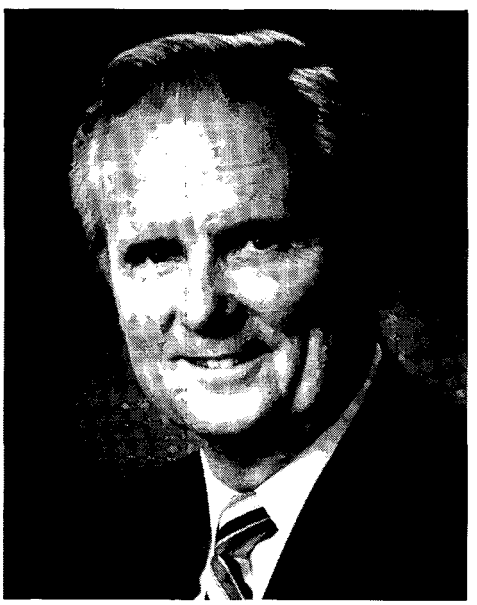

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